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ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH FACILITY

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THE ROUND VALLEY INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

An Unpublished Chapter in *Acculturation In Seven* (Or Eight) *American Indian Tribes*

by
Amelia Susman

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University of California
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

On March 3, 1976, Dr. Amelia Susman Schultz wrote asking if I would look at her manuscript on Round Valley which is published below almost exactly as originally written nearly 40 years ago, and which bears her new Preface and Addenda. I liked her paper very much; we agreed to publish it; and here it is.

The Archaeological Research Facility is pleased to publish Dr. Schultz' paper for several reasons: 1) it helps to right a wrong, or perhaps better, a mistake; 2) it is an excellent piece of work, and; 3) it adds substantially to the literature on acculturation studies which are in short supply for Native Californian societies.

Readers interested in Dr. Schultz' paper may also wish to read four others which deal with Pomo acculturation:

1. Elizabeth Colson, Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women (University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Berkeley, 1974).

2. Dorothea J. Theodoratus, Cultural and Social Change Among the Central Coast Pomo. Journal of California Anthropology 1:206-219, 1974.

3. B.W. Aginsky, The Interaction of Ethnic Groups: a Case Study of Indians and Whites. American Sociological Review 14:288-293, 1949.

4. B. and E. Aginsky, Deep Valley. Stein and Day, New York, 1967.

What is of special interest, I think, is the series of excellent photographs taken 40 years ago of Native Californians in and around Round Valley. The persons are correctly identified in the photographs and cannot be directly connected with individuals referred to in the text where assumed names are used to make such identifications possible.

Robert F. Heizer
October 10, 1976

PREFACE

The original of this manuscript on acculturation in Round Valley was based on field work done in the summer of 1937 when I was one of eight candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology at Columbia University. Funding was provided partly from the Works Progress Administration, Federal Writer's Project. Ruth Benedict and Ralph Linton were the faculty advisors. The purpose was to study and compare acculturation in eight tribes; the final result was the published volume Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, editor Ralph Linton, Appleton Century, N.Y., 1940.

Round Valley Reservation was an example of minimal acculturation, if by acculturation one understands the adaptation of an aboriginal culture to that of a dominant group. Decimation, transplantation and systematic exploitation had reduced the Northern California tribes in this area to remnants, living on a tiny reservation in dire poverty and cultural disarray.

On our return from the field, there were seminars in which the data were presented and in due course my dissertation was accepted along with the others. Although my material did not readily lend itself to the outline we were asked to follow, I did the best I could. Clearly, Round Valley did not represent a single integral culture adapting itself to the White mores.

The manuscripts were forwarded to the publisher. Suddenly, and without warning, I was called in by Dr. Benedict, Acting Head of the Department, who told me that my chapter could not be included because some of the material might be challenged in court as libelous. To the best of my recollection it was not suggested that the data were incorrect but simply that a legal challenge would delay publication of the whole volume. I was asked to withdraw my chapter rather than risk the careers of seven colleagues, since Columbia required printing of the dissertation before conferring the degree.

At 22 I was not about to flout the editorial authority of Ralph Linton. It was implied, or I felt that it was implied, that I might have been less than objective, that I had allowed my emotional reaction to the horrors I had heard from my informants and had read in old San Francisco newspapers and Bureau of Indian Affairs reports to color my presentation. Genocide and exploitation of native peoples to the point of slavery were not, I suppose, popular subjects in 1937.

In retrospect it seems to me that no one could have challenged my conclusions until they were printed, and by then all the degrees would have been conferred. Furthermore, the manuscript shows typographical errors and marginal requests

for page references that had not been met, indicating that I did not see the manuscript for proofreading, but that it went directly from typist to publisher. As evidence, there appears immediately following this Preface Professor-Editor Linton's summary which was, of course, also not published.

Be that as it may, it was pointed out that I was also interested in linguistics and that Professor Boas, then Emeritus, could find funds for me to do a language study and get my degree with a dissertation on a linguistic, presumably safer, subject.

This is, in fact, what happened. To round out the story, though it does not directly concern the Round Valley manuscript, I may add that it had been planned that I would go to Green Bay, Wisconsin, to work on Winnebago with Paul Radin's informant "Crashing Thunder", whose English name was Sam Blowsnake. Sam Blowsnake's Winnebago name was "Big Winnebago", appropriate for a man who stood over six feet tall and was solidly built. However, Radin had borrowed the more dramatic name "Crashing Thunder", actually that of Blowsnake's brother, for the biography. We located Blowsnake on the boardwalk at Atlantic City, where, with his wife, Evening Star and his daughter, Whirling Eagle, he was earning a meager living with his appearances in full regalia, his wife's beadwork and his daughter's dancing.

After several months of delay while he became gradually disillusioned with the promises of riches that had brought him to Atlantic City, Blowsnake agreed to move to an apartment in the Borough Hall area of Brooklyn, where other Indians (Mohawks I recall) were also living. Daily I took a subway to the apartment and paid the current informant pay rate of 35¢/hour.

My advisors were Franz Boas and George Herzog. After the dissertation "Accent in Winnebago" had been defended*, I was again up against the problem of publication. In the last year of his life, Boas, as I recently learned from his

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*November 16, 1939. The date would have escaped me had I not found it mentioned in the letter of November 17 from Boas to Benedict: "Amelia passed her PhD examination yesterday". Writings of Ruth Benedict: An Anthropologist at Work by Margaret Mead, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1959, p. 415.

microfilmed correspondence, was still trying to find funds for publication of my dissertation. Just the other day I was told by Edward Kennard (who was instrumental in the Federal Writer's funding of the acculturation study write-up) that most, if not all, of the reprints of dissertations published in the International Journal of American Linguistics in that era were in fact paid for by Boas' private funds.

In 1943, after the death of Boas (December, 1942), while I was a member of the Women's Army Corps, I spent many evenings typing the dissertation and at my own expense had it printed (in photo-offset, $300 for 75 copies, which by that time Columbia had come to accept as a substitute for reprints) and received the degree.

After the war I entered the field of social work, having found no position in anthropology, and was "discovered" about two years ago at the University Hospital, where I have been employed since 1960 by Jay Miller, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Washington. Contact with young anthropologists renewed my interest in the field and with the help of a hypnotist I located the long mislaid Round Valley manuscript and found with it extensive handwritten and typed notes which document the historical events.

When, in 1975, I set about preparing the manuscript for possible publication, I found only slight revision necessary. For one thing, I added page references which Appleton and Professor Linton seemed to find of crucial importance, but which had not apparently seemed so to me. Perhaps I thought everyone knew that the Bureau of Indian Affairs reports are organized alphabetically by state and by reservation within the state so that they are easily found, and the Round Valley report comprised about two pages each year, so that checking any reference would be no problem.

If the omission of page references was a real reason for rejecting the manuscript, it could as easily have been made good in 1937 as I found it to be in 1975. If there was concern that I was using real names of individual informants, I had perhaps neglected to mention that the names I used were fictitious. If, as is more likely, the compelling fact was that the publisher feared Collett, who was at that time representing many Indian tribes in Washington, D.C., and had started suit against Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for libel, I could easily have deleted references to him. I doubt whether any living white resident of Round Valley would ever have seen the volume or felt the need to defend his forebears.

All in all, I am inclined to think that the material was not comparable to the other seven papers, since the aboriginal material was scanty, several tribes were involved, and the history was not one of gradual assimilation or meaningful resistance. Ethnohistory was not then a subject in its own right. The Indian point of view was not regarded with as much seriousness as it is today. Finally, I accepted only too readily the appeal to my altruism.

The chief difference between the original manuscript and the present one arises from the fact that the material most interesting to me was to be found in the notes that I found, by the shoebox full, with the manuscript. Portions of these I quote in extended addenda.

The photographs were taken by me with a postcard size folding Kodak, purchased at the suggestion of Professor Boas. He wanted pictures of California Indians for a project in physical anthropology, concerning especially the shape of ears. Whether these photos were ever used by him or have been printed or analyzed by anyone else, I do not know.

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THE ROUND VALLEY INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

by Amelia Susman

The Aboriginal Community

On the Round Valley Indian Reservation* in Mendocino County were placed, at different times from 1856 to 1873, the remnants of eight bands of California Indians, from as many different tribes (linguistic groups) speaking languages belonging to six separate language stocks. The Yuki lived in Round Valley and the mountains around it; the Wailaki (Athabascan speaking) inhabited the rugged mountains to the north and west. Nomlaki Wintun (Penutian speaking) were brought from the Nomlaki reservation to the east, near their old home, some 40 miles from Round Valley, across the summit of the range. The Concow Maidu (Penutian) were driven from the placer mining section of the Sacramento Valley, on the Feather and American Rivers. Pit River Achomawi (Hokan) were on the reservation for only a short time, going home in small groups as soon as they sighted Shasta. The last Indians to be brought in were the Clear Lake and Little Lake Pomo, who were driven from their homes in 1873 and taken 30 miles northeast to the reservation.

The estimated aboriginal population of California is very high. Kroeber (Handbook, 1917, p. 880) places it at 133,000 in 1770, an average of one person per square mile, as compared with one person per four square miles for the rest of the United States. Since there are deserts, marshes, and the high Sierra with very little population, the relative density is even higher than the absolute figure. The word "tribe" can be used of California Indians only in the sense of a population speaking one language. There was no feeling of unity among such people, and they often spoke different dialects and had different customs. The linguistic groups concerned here varied considerably in size, but the larger tribes were spread over correspondingly large areas, so that the Pomo "tribe" of about 8,000 differed little in its basic organization from the small Athabascan "tribes" which might have only 1,000 or 2,000 members.

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*The Round Valley Reservation was originally the Nome Cult Farm, attached to the Nomlacki (variously spelled) Reservation, to the northeast across the mountains.

Despite the diversity of specific institutions that arose in a variety of climates and natural environments, all of these tribes belong to the culture province that Kroeber calls Central Californian, and at his suggestion I am giving a composite picture of aboriginal conditions, indicating, at some points, differences which seem to be significant for present purposes. (Kroeber, 1930:265ff.)

The unit of organization was the band or "tribelet" which inhabited a small territory definable by drainage, usually held the land in common for settlements, hunting, and gathering, and acted as a unit in war, control of trespass, and major ceremonies and entertainment. It consisted of one or more extended families. In the mountains a hundred or more persons lived under a main chief in a main village, and several smaller, less permanent villages under family chiefs. Pomo villages seem to have been much larger, sometimes including as many as eight hundred persons. The group wandered a short distance from its permanent village during the summer season of economic activity: hunting, fishing, and gathering. They seldom overstepped their boundaries, and trespass was punishable by death on sight, although a death usually led at once to war with the neighboring group to which the victim belonged. For the area of the Southern Wintun Kroeber, although he formerly accepted the explanation that wars were made to avenge witchcraft deaths, now considers conflict over trespass most important. "Wars," though hardly more than family feuds and seldom very bloody, were frequent, and involved groups which were often related by marriage and between whom trading took place on friendly occasions, such as large ceremonial gatherings. The mountain tribes, who lived in rougher country and had a lower subsistence level than the valley groups, were more hostile. But even the Pomo, the most peaceful according to all reports, had feuds caused by violation of territory rights to the detriment of food and game supplies. (Curtis, 1924:51)

Relations with neighbors speaking an altogether different language were often closer than with members of the same linguistic group; temporary alliances could occur against a group related by blood and speech to one of the participant bands. Geographical nearness was very important in a culture in which the activities of a lifetime might be restricted within a twenty-mile diameter. The smallness of the groups and the prohibition on marriage with even distant relatives made it obligatory to marry into neighboring bands. Such marriages provided a mechanism for acquaintance and communication, but frequently a married-in person had to flee for his life when hostilities threatened or when his relatives-in-law were unable to protect him from their own more distant kin.

Economic and Social Organization

Whatever the local differences, the whole region was well stocked with game and wild food. Even in the mountains of the Wailaki and Lassik country there were "lotsa Indians, lotsa bear, lotsa deer, lotsa elk ... everything, you can see it ... deer stand around like band of sheep ... long time (ago) lotsa grub, lotsa see, lotsa roots,"* and the Indians took advantage of everything. Deer hunting is the most important activity in their descriptions, but smaller game, squirrel, coon, rabbit, etc., probably took care of a larger part of the meat diet. Salmon ran twice a year in the northern streams, trout were plentiful. A variety of nuts, roots, berries and seeds kept the women busy gathering, and the supply of acorns gathered in the fall lasted most tribes through the rainy winter. Even insects had a place in the diet, larvae of yellowjackets and caterpillars being the favorites. The Indians burned the grass after the spring seed gathering so as to decrease the danger from grizzlies and rattlesnakes.

The style of house varied with climate and available materials. It was round or rectangular, of wooden or bark slabs, sometimes earth-covered and semi-subterranean, and, to the south, of tules. Clothing was of the simplest, a skin or bark fiber apron for the women, a skin wrapped around the hips, or nothing, for men. In the winter both wore skin shawls around their shoulders.

Bow and arrow and digging-stick were the essential tools. Grass was used for rope and nets, skins for blankets and slings, flint for arrowheads, and massive rock for pounding-stones and slabs. The all-around utensil was the basket, in varying sizes and shapes, for everything from carrying a baby to washing one's face.

The Indians adjusted their lives in a yearly cycle. They opened the spring season with the gathering of fresh clover and ripening grass seeds. In the summer they roamed the hills, gathering berries, and stalking, snaring and driving deer; and when the deer fattened on acorns in the fall, gathered a supply of dried meat and prepared to winter in permanent villages on the rivers. Then the rains started the water flowing in the rivers, black salmon "came up jumping," and a man could fish all night, getting a big salmon with almost every dip of his net.

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*Unless a reference is cited, quotation marks enclose the words of my principal informants: Lucy Young, aged about 90, and Fred Major (Wailaki), Frank Logan (Yuki-Wailaki), Ralph Moore (Yuki), and Austin McLaine (Concow Maidu and Chilean).

Dried, smoked or pounded into "pinole" (this was the common way of preparing seeds), fish lasted all winter. Nothing was thrown away; "eat gills, guts ... nothing but gall and bones thrown away ... nothing left of a deer but a manure pile."

Most of the regions supplied the necessities within the narrow range of a single band, but there was conflict over clover fields and salt deposits. Many bands traded for these foods, but often there was poaching under cover of darkness. Trade was rather informal, but articles of value, like shell, bead and magnesite "money" spread from a center in the Pomo territory.

The rainy winter was the time for men to chip arrowheads and women to make baskets, though hunting and fishing went on when the people got "hungry for fresh meat."

This kind of economic adjustment had the advantage of protecting them from scarcity, but the variety of resources used also meant that they "had to go all the time." The Sacramento tribes were sometimes forced to come down to two meals a day, according to a Concow Maidu, but "I never heard of starving to death." The Wailaki, on the other hand, were sometimes reduced to eating their own blankets and packing straps, and old people succumbed in a hard winter. The Nomlaki suffered too, the poorer people dying or being weakened by famine about every six or seven years.

The territory of a band was held in common for its members, although some tribes had individual ownership of pine trees (the nuts were eaten) and fishing places. As a rule hunting was done by small informal groups, but before a "big time" a large group would go out for a good meat supply, and would drive deer out of the brush with fire or noise, or run them past expert marksmen, or even run them down in relays. On the whole the attitude seems to have been one of helpfulness, with friends or relatives hunting or fishing together, and the successful man often giving his catch to his companions to divide up. They would never think of not sharing game. Generosity was the most important single virtue. For this reason, what individual ownership of resources existed could not have worked hardship on any member of the band.

It is often unclear from the reports how far the family was co-extensive with the band, and whether economic cooperation occurred only among relatives. Judging from other bands' attitudes, it seems likely that friends and neighbors would be included according to the immediate circumstances. The Concow Maidu put into a rather formal category the friend with whom a man habitually went hunting or fishing.

Within the family, cooked food was shared, and work was divided according to the abilities of the members. The older men made arrows and rope, the old women pounded acorns while the young women were out gathering, and the children played around the camp, where the old people could watch them. For these services the active adults "fed" the old.

The preparation of acorn soup and bread, a long and rather complicated process, kept the women busy. The men handled meat if they were present, but if not, the women might cut up dried meat, since there was skill, rather than a tabu, involved. The men, in their movements during hunting, watched the ripening of the acorns, and when they started to fall helped the women gather them up, or picked them by hand or shook the oaks. Men tanned the skins, or worked them with rough rocks without tanning, and built the houses. They gathered firewood and helped take care of the children.

Economic activity was organized within the extended family, with so little formal division of labor between man and wife that either would be well-provided for during widowhood, and free at any time to rejoin his or her parents and relatives without economic handicap. The complete economic independence women could achieve when necessary is indicated by the fact that when a certain Lassik (Athabascan) band was attacked by Whites and all the men killed, the women got along on vegetable food and fish they drugged.

Specialization was informal except, perhaps, among the Pomo, where there were inherited professions. Workers in shell spent most of their time at it. The important professions of fisherman, hunter, and doctor are defined by Loeb (1926:180ff; 319ff) as specialized activities to which a man devoted a considerable part of his time, and to which he was initiated by an elder relative who gave him the magical outfit and charms necessary for success, but "almost all of the men in the village hunted." All women made baskets, though some were conceded to be better craftsmen, and the men who made the best arrowheads gave them to younger relatives or sold them to other bands. No one lived on the proceeds of a specialty, even the doctors doing some hunting. The chiefs, though some of them did little or no work, lost no prestige if they did, and often spent their time in the village making things, as did other middle-aged men.

The band under a chief comprised the social and political unit of California Indian society. Within it, as has been indicated, were several groups of related individuals. A couple was usually free to decide with whose parents they would live, the choice depending on the circumstances and personalities concerned. Often a couple would spend a year or so with the

girl's parents, the man helping them with contributions of food, before they settled down near his family but within visiting distance of hers. Among the Lassik "mostly they let a girl go with her husband," but if, for instance, the man had no parents, he would probably go to his wife's family, but, as in most matters, "That's depend."

The son- or daughter-in-law was accepted as his or her personality warranted, the usual criteria being industry, generosity, and good nature. The birth of a child strengthened the affinal tie, especially since grandparents were always so fond of children that they took their part against less indulgent parents. If a woman were deserted, her husband's parents might prevail on her to stay with them for the sake of the children.

Marriage was brittle--which does not mean that there were no cases of devotion. Again, it was up to the individual to react to the situation as his inclinations led him. Marriage was prohibited among blood relations on both sides, and since strong ties were felt with all the relatives who lived in one group, this amounted to local exogamy. Close relatives-in-law seem to have been included in this group of respected persons whom one could not marry, except that in one's own generation a mild form of levirate and sororate operated. The Pomo family has indications of being weighted toward matriliny, with clan names and a marriage tabu.

As a rule the members of a family were bound by warm ties of affection and by the obligation of supporting relatives in feuds. However, should a man become a nuisance and by constant mischief endanger their safety, the family might pay to have him murdered rather than fight it out with those he injured, and, among the Wailaki at least, distant relatives might kill a "black sheep." Loeb writes that dependence on his kin was sufficient to make a Pomo man circumspect.

The degree to which political organization was developed may have varied among the tribes. The Wintun, Yuki, and Wailaki had a loose organization in which several settlements under separate village chiefs felt themselves to be under the chief of a larger village, and identified themselves with him and it. The fact that the name of such a chief or village is often given by informants in reference to both the main village and to the group of settlements obscures the organization in some cases. It is reported that the Pomo had no named groups larger than villages, but since their villages were much larger than those of other tribes, a single Pomo village with chief and family headmen probably corresponded to the more spread-out band of the others.

The band or tribelet gave "feeds," carried on such ceremonies as the girls' puberty "sing," and trained the young people in the "school." Its relations with other bands might be alternately war and friendship, since no peace was permanent, even when murder had been compounded and a peace celebration held. Old grudges might motivate fresh murders, and poaching was always dangerous.

Several bands might meet for summer festivities, the host group sending invitations to others, and at the gathering have games, trade and courting. The difficulty of dealing with potential or actual enemies was bridged on some occasions by having a neighbor on good terms with both sides act as intermediary in trade and peacemaker in war. The Wailaki called such a man "middle-walker," and they explain that he was probably related to people on both sides and was safe from attack as long as he did not lie. That this was only slightly formalized is indicated by the fact that the Pitch Indians, a Wailaki band who had a reputation for being ill-tempered and dangerous even to people who spoke their own dialect, accorded no immunity to messengers. The more peaceful valley Wailaki tribes used the same mechanism, but so backward was their social organization in comparison with highly developed ritualism among the Maidu, that they lacked even mediation to prevent war (Curtis, v.14, pp.21ff.).

Good nature, generosity, and fluency were the qualities that a chief must have. Although there was a tendency to keep the position within a lineage (patrilineal among the Yuki, matrilineal among the Pomo) personality was most important, since the chief had only his personal authority to back up any decision he might make in regard to war and peace, ceremonies, or settlement of disputes. He had no power to punish anyone for any offense. Among the Maidu, the secret society of which he was a member had greater political power than he. The shamans chose and might depose him, if the spirits so decreed. "He would listen to them talk, and say 'Well, that ought to be good.' He can't say, 'No.' If he did, they'd get him down. Got to be always on the safe side." In all the tribes the chief was usually a middle-aged man who was likely to stay at the village "making things" while his younger relatives brought him food and articles of value so that he could trade, compound murders and help his people if they needed it. The Yuki chief had more real authority than the headman of neighboring groups, leading his people in daily affairs, sending out hunters for food before ceremonials, and training his successor during his lifetime. None of the reports is clear on the relations between the chief and the lesser chiefs or headmen, nor do they define their functions exactly, but it appears that both leaders gave fairly prescribed speeches on all

occasions, expressing the needs and will of the group and giving specific direction to the necessary and expected arrangements. The chief was a "good talker."

The shamans, who had explicit political power only among the Maidu, were powerful in all the tribes. The Pomo were the only group which is said to have distinguished between priests and medicine men. In all the others, although the basic function was curing, shamans conducted all the ceremonies and trained the young people. The Athabascans had little ritual, and initiation was for good health and growth of children and for the training of potential shamans. The Yuki, although their religious beliefs were close to those of the Wailaki, had a rather complicated ceremonial development and a tribal initiation (apart from that of shamans) which was directed by the chief and his assistants.

In his curing function, the "doctor"* was paid, and well paid, for his services. The feeling was that he was entitled to what he got, since essentially it was the spirit who set the fee and the fee was returned if the patient was not completely cured. The doctor protected his group from hostile spirits and hostile Indians who might try to "poison"* them. For this reason he had to understand poisoning or black magic himself, which made him a potential danger, a man to be placated or avoided. Some tribes, like the Lassik, separated doctors from prisoners. The former got their power by inspiration, the latter through training.

In most matters the independence of the individual was complete, the only social control arising from the informal sanction of economic reciprocity and the necessity of keeping the good will of other equally unhampered individuals. The chief tried to keep peace, but since his authority had no force behind it, a "mean man" could go on as long as no one went him one better and "put him out of the way." An interesting mechanism is reported for the Maidu (Dixon, 1905), that of initiating an incorrigible man into the secret society and giving him responsibilities. A similar practice is described for the Eastern Pomo after White intrusion, when a man who was so contaminated by contact with the Whites as to become a nuisance was given honors--even, if he was eligible, the chieftainship. The only group actions recorded are cases

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*Hereafter the words "doctor" and "poison" will be used without quotation marks, in the native sense.

in which the men of a group banded together against women. The Maidu, according to a Round Valley informant, punished a girl who was too promiscuous with rape by the entire male population. The Pomo used their secret society chiefly to keep their wives chaste and submissive.

On the whole, the feeling was that no one should or could be forced into doing anything, but that he might be persuaded: "Just keep talking to him," and about him.

The sanctions exercised by the supernatural powers were stronger, theoretically, so that the breaking of a tabu automatically brought ill health, and disbelief in the power of spirits resulted in the immediate death of the skeptic.

Supernaturalism

The concept of a high God ("One who sits above," "Our Father," or "The One who Created Us") existed in Northern California, but creation was usually Coyote's work. There was no clear idea of where souls went after death, certainly no notion of punishment in afterlife. The nearest any tribe came to such an idea was to conceive of wicked persons becoming grizzlies or rattlesnakes after death. Supernatural power resided in natural objects, and places which were to be avoided, and in animal spirits from whom doctoring ability came. The recipient got power in an unsought trance and vision, and it might cause his death if he were not properly doctored and the power brought under control. Promising young people were trained to doctor, especially in regard to removing "pains," but real shamanistic ability waited on this supernatural experience, which followed a general pattern but varied with the individual.

The basic ceremonies of the region were the doctors' curing rites, the "sing" over a girl at her first menstruation, and the "acorn sing." The Maidu had elaborated a winter cycle of dances, an annual burning of property in honor of the dead of the year, and several first-fruit ceremonies (Loeb, 1933, pp. 227-231).

The Kuksu or Big-Head cult flourished in all the tribes now in Round Valley except the Wailaki. The Yuki form of the cult was simpler than that of the Maidu or Wintun. In all cases it consisted of a secret society which only men could enter, through an elaborate ceremonial initiation. The society impersonated spirits, mystifying the uninitiated and even some members. The costume included a long masking net of feathers and the radiating headdress of feathered sticks from which the

organization is named. Clowning was characteristic. A striped center post, special dance houses, and the use of the foot-drum were some of the material elements. A ghost religion, emphasizing the return of the dead, initiation of novices, and the use of the bull-roarer, was carried on by the Pomo, but the other tribes "ran the two religions in one " (Loeb, 1926, pp. 338-397).

In all these simple cultures there was much overlapping of secret societies and shamanism. (Kroeber, 1917, pp. 170-192) The Yuki obsidian initiation, similar to the Kuksu initiation of other tribes, was done for the health of the initiates and to discover and strengthen potential shamans. On the other hand, one element of Pomo curing is the impersonation by the doctor of the monster, the sight of which caused the patient to fall ill.

A distinction was made between singing or dreaming doctors and sucking doctors, but both powers might reside in one man, or specialists in each could cooperate on a case. The former diagnosed the illness and, if it was the result of soul-loss (Wailaki, Lassik), recovered the soul. If, however, the cause of illness was a "pain," the sucking doctor drew it out with his hands or mouth and destroyed it. A "pain" was a small object, often in the form of an insect, which had been projected into the body of the victim. Only the Pomo had an "outfit doctor" who needed no supernatural help; all the others had direct personal experience of the spiritual source of their strength. Usually an animal or natural object did something miraculous. For instance, a dead fawn would get up and walk away before the eyes of the astonished hunter, who would thereupon fall over in a trance, bleeding from nose and mouth. Later he would be found, or would stagger home, to be treated strenuously by experienced shamans in an effort to save his life and make him a practitioner. It was possible, however, to reject the power.

Sucking doctors received most of their training by instruction. Poisoners caused illness, but to what extent the doctors' curing function was turned in this direction is unclear. It is not even certain that black magic was actually practised widely. Open use of it was directed against neighboring bands, but it was constantly feared within the band by most tribes. Sometimes shamans had contests, throwing "pains" at each other.

The function of religious beliefs in keeping activities going along traditional lines is most evident in the fact that "keeping the rules" was vital for good health and for luck in food getting.

Mores

The Indians of Central California made little point of property, either in regard to ownership of economic goods or the manipulation of wealth for social purposes. Outside of clothing and implements, there was a minimum of private ownership. Hospitality and food sharing were taken for granted and only in times of scarcity was there trade for food, and that between bands. Shell and magnesite "money" was worn on festive occasions, and passed from hand to hand in the gift-giving that marked a marriage or peace parley, or in informal trade. These valuables and bearhides were buried with a corpse, not because the spirit would need them but because friends wished to honor the dead and gain the goodwill of the survivors, and because close relatives were anxious to get rid of anything that had been associated with the deceased: "they sadness, they don't think of nothing."

Relatives made things for each other, and friends gave gifts to one another with the expectation of long term reciprocity. At the Maidu "burning" which was carried on by a whole band, visitors attended and traded for the goods they wanted just before the actual destruction occurred.

The value of any object seems to have been set in a general way by the amount of labor consumed in making it, and measured in terms of strings of shell beads. The Pomo had rather more formal evaluations than some of the other tribes, and the rules of trade varied, but in all cases reciprocity and the desire to avoid bad blood prevented shrewd bargains.

Personal relations are even more difficult to determine than other aspects of California Indian life because here especially the choice of behavior was left to the individual. Informants will not even give theoretical generalizations. For instance, "If a woman left her husband, he could follow her and kill the other man ... but some men say 'There are lots of women' and let her go." Little compulsion was placed on men or women to be continent before marriage or faithful after. The Wailaki however guarded their girls carefully, and punished the birth of an illegitimate child by ostracism so severe that the girl would neither want nor be able to marry afterwards. It was easy to break marriages (provided the deserted husband did not murder the other man) and set up a new household. Maidu girls had considerable freedom, but if one were too promiscuous, she was "cooled off" by being held down while "young and old used her up." Pomo unmarried women were free too, and after marriage the men seem to have had great difficulty in keeping their wives chaste and obedient. It is frequently said that if a woman accepted a man after having refused him

for a long time, that marriage would last long (See also Curtis, V. XIV, p. 30).

Although there was no economic handicap to compel a women to accept or stay with a man she did not like, women seldom or never took the initiative in sexual affairs. An old Maidu woman said, "Don't go to a man's bed; let him come to yours."

All the tribes had male transvestites who might or might not be homosexual. The fact always brought out was that they did women's work, that they were "too lazy" to do men's work, and took this way of avoiding responsibility. A Pit River tribe symbolized the situation by publicly offering a bow and a digging-stick to a man who showed signs of developing in this direction, and holding him to his choice.

It is not easy to decide just what the position of women was: broadly it depended on personality. A man could have more than one wife, if he could keep order in the house. Sisters were supposed to make the best co-wives. The Lassik excluded their women from games; Pomo and Maidu kept them from ceremonials. A Wailaki man had the power to beat his wife or even to kill her, but her relatives would be on him immediately.

In general, then, marriage was brittle and sex life fairly free, since the lack of economic considerations in marriage gave personal choice the decisive role.

In other relationships with people, there was similar freedom. Within the family respect attitudes were formalized to greater or less extent, from the strict mother-in-law tabu of the Maidu to the slight constraint which the Wailaki felt, and which the Pitch division, notable for lack of respect toward human beings, dispensed with altogether. Ordinarily they "think a whole lot of relatives." Marriage with relatives was strictly interdicted. Relatives of opposite sex were circumspect toward each other, spoke seriously and never joked, especially not about sexual matters. Respect for one's parents took a similar form, but there was little or no emphasis on respect for age per se. A Maidu married couple showed "respect" for each other by not eating together until after the birth of their first child.

As for a brother-in-law, a woman might "play with him, touch him, but not too far. If I have respect for myself, I don't joke with him at all." This statement from a Maidu fits the custom of mild levirate-sororate in the region. A man might marry two or more sisters, the second during, or after, the lifetime of the first, provided he was a good husband and his relatives-in-law approved of him. Relatives-in-law out of

one's own generation were regarded as blood relatives and one behaved accordingly. Sometimes a man would live with his wife's parents, or visit them frequently, and a woman often found her mother-in-law "like another mother." It was these people who protected or warned the younger people when trouble arose in the band.

The uniqueness of personalities and the feeling that they are to be constrained as little as possible are expressed in various ways: "Respect a human being"; "Mind your own business"; "She'll do it if she wants to." Fear of poisoning may be significant here, but it is impossible to tell from the material. And the extent to which this factor of freedom is recognized appears in the qualifying "but if....." which follows every statement of how people acted under certain conditions.

Foci of Interests

Within the range of rather simple specializations anyone could direct his energy at will, and in a society which dictated so little how one must behave, and had no formal penalties for misbehaving, every situation had several possibilities for action. Some men were "mean" and went around killing people, others refused even to take part in long standing feuds. "Some of it just natur' talk lots; some don't say nothing much." "There might be two or three bad ones in a family, just like White people." Much of the above is based on conversations with Wailaki and Lassik informants, but Maidu too made statements like, "Old days, never interfere with nobody's business," and "You're going to be what you're going to be," so it can safely be assumed that such attitudes were general among the tribes concerned.

Craftsmen naturally took an interest in their work and spent long hours at it. However, an important interest for all, and one which is well-remembered when many other aspects of native life have been forgotten, was the feud. It is difficult to analyse the social and personal motives for feuds. It has been said that the social motive was usually to prevent trespass, and the personal experience seems to have been angry fear of strangers on one's own territory and blind rage when one sought revenge for the death of a relative. The narrow range of movement of California Indians must have readily given rise to suspicion but the tribes differed in the amount of hostility they showed to their neighbors. Correlates in personal experience are lacking in most reports.

On the whole (Powers 1872-74, V.8, p. 325; 1877) the California Indians, though shy and secretive where White men

are concerned, were sociable among themselves, fond of dancing and gambling. Games were for sport, not for conquest; players were absorbed in the process, indifferent to the result. An old Round Valley Maidu used to say, "White man every day gettin' ready to live; Indian live every day."

Integration and Contemporary Rate of Culture Change

California culture has been described as having great stability and great variety, compared to larger American tribes of more uniform culture and extensive tribal areas. However, the closeness of inter-band relations, the fact that on the borders of linguistic groups there were bands of mixed blood and bilingual speech, and that everywhere marriages and feasts alternated with feud murders meant that traits could spread rapidly. Differences in material culture can be attributed to some extent to environmental differences. The only clear examples of the dissemination of culture traits are the spread of the religious cults, which was going on when the Whites arrived in California, and the learning of magical techniques by the Lassik, who had apparently come in from the north with other Athabascans.

The most serious disruptive force in California society was the feud, which accounted for many deaths, not only of fighting men, but of women and children left unprotected a short distance from the village. Poisoning and the fear of it may have been significant in this connection, but there is no clear picture in reports of how it functioned, except that there were covert grudges. On the other hand, fear of poisoning might have been a force for good social relations insofar as it kept people on their best behavior.

Internal integration of the society, in the sense of strong drives around which many activities and motivations centered, was non-existent. Dr. DuBois' conclusions on Wintu society may, from all available facts, be applied to all the California tribes with which we are concerned here: If any selection of dominating patterns could be made ... they would consist of the salmon, deer, and acorn complexes in their economy and their material life. In the socio-religious fabric, shamanism was paramount. But more characteristic of Wintu culture was its amorphous construction, the absence of pressure upon the individual, the lack of integrating drives. It was a society in which the individual's personality was important for social success, but only because society had so few formalized hurdles or barriers (DuBois, 1935).

The Contact Continuum--

Summary of Non-Cultural Results of Contact

The estimated Indian population of California was 133,000 in 1770. At present the population of Indians and mixed-blood descendants of California Indians is about 20,000. Before 1850 there were epidemics of smallpox, and the Spanish occupation of Southern California accounted for many deaths during the reign of the missions and more after the secularization of the missions by the Mexican government. However, direct attacks by goldminers and American settlers and the effects of whiskey and diseases they brought, probably did the most damage. After that, poverty and hopelessness completed the decimation.

It would be difficult, nor would it be useful for present purposes, to estimate the population of the bands from which the present Round Valley Indians stem. Remnants of bands were brought here, and even where we know the number brought, we cannot check for those who ran away. It is equally difficult to determine the range of any particular band in aboriginal times, and the density of population within it. The statistics of the Indian Office, as given in the annual reports to the Secretary of the Interior, are necessarily inadequate and practically useless. The only set of figures which has some applicability is that of Merriam (Kroeber, 1917, p. 880). It covers the total membership of the tribes represented in Round Valley, estimated for 1770 and determined by the census for 1910.

	1770	1910
Nongatl, Sinkyone, Lassik	2000	100
Wailaki	1000	200
Yuki	2000	1000
Huchnom	500	--
Coast Yuki	500	--
Pomo	8000	1200
Maidu	9000	1100
	23,000	3600

At present (1937) over 800 Indians are on the rolls of the Indian Office as living in Round Valley. There is, however, no value in estimating the density of population, because very few, if any, Indians derive their sole support from the valley, and about half of them are away for at least four or six months of each year working in the vineyards, orchards and hopfields to the south.

Though on the average California had about one Indian per square mile, local differences were great. Round Valley had a very high aboriginal population estimated at perhaps more than a thousand (according to Powers, about three times the average population of California). Powers' estimates of population were high (he gave 5,000 as a minimum for Yuki), but he was probably not entirely wrong when he insisted that this valley, some 35 square miles in area, and similar mountain valleys would support fewer White people than they did Indians, because the Indians had usufructuary rights to ten times its area in nut-bearing forests, and to salmon-swarming streams. For Round Valley and the immediate vicinity there are now perhaps 2,000 Indians and Whites in the territory which once supported about the same number of Yuki. To the north the originally Wailaki lands now have few inhabitants; most of their range became the estate of a rich cattleman.

The difference among tribes in regard to the extent of immigration of Whites into the several districts and the aboriginal margin of subsistence will be discussed further in connection with the conditions of contact (See below.).

The change of physical environment from aboriginal to present conditions was not very great. Most of the tribes had lived in hilly country, near rivers, under a climate not very different from that of Round Valley, and with the same type of resources. However, as soon as they reached the reservation they were given government food and rations. The land, trees and rivers are much as they were a hundred years ago, but the valley is cultivated by White owners, the mountain range is fenced in, and the deer, though still plentiful, can be hunted only in season and under a license.

Personal mobility increased greatly in a short time. Indians who in 1850 never went more than twenty miles from their birthplace traveled hundreds of miles to go to a ceremony at Clear Lake in 1870. After military guards were removed from the reservation, the Round Valley Indians started to take wage labor and their mobility became unlimited. At present most of them work in California, but some go to Oregon and Washington in the summer. Some individuals leave the valley altogether and many have been all over the country. Most of them, however, are bound by necessity to seek as close to home as possible the agricultural and pastoral work that provides their main source of income.

Before the gold rush and the coming of the Americans, California tribes had come in contact with several groups of foreigners in a variety of ways. In 1579 Sir Francis Drake touched on the coast of California, at or above San Francisco

Bay, finding there a tribe which, from the description of their baskets, were probably Pomo, and who received the Englishmen as gods (Barrett, 1908, pp. 28-39).

Spanish Jesuit missions, started in Lower California in 1797, were later taken over by the Franciscans, but no White settlements were made in California north of San Francisco until a branch of the Russian-American Fur Company was sent down from Alaska and established Fort Ross in 1811, remaining, despite Spanish protest, until 1840, when they voluntarily withdrew. The Russians at Fort Ross (Thompson, 1896, pp. 29ff.) treated the Indians fairly well, paying them for work and letting them leave the fort at night. In return the Indians gave their daughters as wives to the Russians and Aleuts, and allowed them to go safely into the interior.

The last mission that lasted any length of time was at Sonoma, a short distance north of San Francisco, founded in 1823, lasting until 1840. Santa Rosa, further north, had a mission for a short time in 1827, but probably few conversions occurred. Spanish explorers passed through the Sacramento Valley before 1825, but the important settlements near Round Valley were by Mexicans who came after the secularization of the missions in 1834 to fill the fertile valleys as far north as Ukiah, and those just south of Round Valley. They held grants under the Mexican government. There are traces of Spanish or Mexican influences among the Pomo, many of whom are Catholics, use Spanish words, and bake tortillas. The Spaniards and Mexicans raided Indian villages for work hands and domestic servants, killing those who resisted and picking out the ones they wanted (Addendum 2). The Americans, when they came, extended this activity north of the San Francisco region and made a business of kidnapping and selling Indian children.

Contact with Americans

The immigration of the Americans in 1849 put the Indians suddenly in the position of aliens in their own land, subject to death for stealing, for gathering food, or just for being in the way. Their food supply was cut down drastically, they were forced to starve or steal. On the whole, the preservation of Indians was in reverse ratio to the density of White population, except that the hill tribes with rude culture and a small margin between them and minimum subsistence (Yuki, Wailaki) succumbed to the maladjustment caused by even a light immigration, while their valley neighbors (Pomo, Maidu), richer and with more elaborate customs, survived. However, the Yuki were affected less than some others, because they were allowed

to remain on their own territory. Kroeber points out that although the reservation did not prevent the decrease of Yuki, it did protect some Wailaki, Wintun and Maidu from the more drastic destruction they would have suffered if they had had to shift for themselves (Kroeber, 1917).

The Maidu suffered especially, because their land was in the heart of the Sacramento placer mining region. "They were, one might say, blown into the air by the suddenness and fierceness of the explosion. Never before in history has a people been swept away with such terrible swiftness or so appalled into utter and unwhispering silence forever and forever as were the California Indians by those 100,000 of the best blood of the nation. They were struck dumb; they fled from all the streams and camped in the inaccessible hills where the miners would have no temptation to follow them; they crouched in terror under the walls of the garrisoned forts, or gathered around the old pioneers who had lived among them and now shielded them from the miners as well as they could. If they remained in their villages, and a party of miners came up they prostrated themselves on the ground and allowed them to trample on their bodies to show how absolute was their submission. And well they might. If they complained audibly that the miners muddied the streams so that they could not see to spear salmon, or stole a pack mule, in less than twenty days, there might not be a soul of the tribe living " (Powers, 1872-74, V. 12, pp. 21ff.). Similar retribution followed the few attempts made by the Indians to avenge murder or rape by burning the houses of White men.

The Pomo were also unresisting. The Stone and Kelsey "massacre" gives the general circumstances of their first contact with Americans. In 1847 Stone and Kelsey took over a Mexican land grant. With the land went a group of Indians, some of whom had straggled back from a prospecting expedition to the north where they had been dragged as slaves by prospectors. Stone and Kelsey kept them in a corral, trained a few men as vaqueros and workhands, took girls as they wanted them, and punished opposition with murder or by hanging offenders by the hands. Two vaqueros were persuaded by the Indians to kill a beef for them. The plans miscarried, and knowing they would die in any case anyway, five Indian men decided to kill the two White men. They succeeded and fled with the whole group. A year later a punitive expedition, probably of United States regulars, wiped out the bands, and "was conducted with a savagery of which Benson's own account gives only an inadequate notion. Nothing except sadistic lust on the part of white soldiers can explain it, since the generally pacific character of the California Indians was well known, and Vallejo's agents, under whose control these particular Indians had been for years

before 1849, lived on terms of the utmost friendliness with them " (Radin, 1932, pp. 266-272).

The California volunteers were bands of citizens who went out to punish depredations and kill any Indians unlucky enough to be caught. They operated widely from Round Valley against Yuki and Wailaki who, after their first friendly advances brought them no protection, killed isolated individuals when they could and made raids on the herds. However, in many cases it was dead cattle which they ate, knowing that the punishment for theft was death. But guilty or innocent, Indians suffered equally. The technique of the "volunteers" was to surround a rancheria during the night, open fire as soon as it was light enough to shoot, wipe out the band, and then find cattle bones as "evidence" of theft (California Legislature, Special Committee, 1860). These "wars" continued after the reservation was established, theoretically to bring the Indians into the valley. In fact, many Indians were killed in and near Round Valley; one band of Wailaki was wiped out on the reservation where they had come for protection (Addendum 4; Browne, 1864, p. 21).

Some explanation for this disregard of Indian life lies in the type of men California attracted in those days, and in the mores of the time. "First there was a large number of mountain men, i.e., trappers and restless spirits who had adopted wild life from choice. Many of them lived with Indians, imbibed Indian superstitions and adopted Indian customs. With them, the killing of a hostile Indian, or one who from his tribal connection ought to be hostile, was an honor. ... Second, there was a still larger percentage of desperadoes--villainous wretches whose sole redeeming feature was their bravery, and some lacking even that--to whom robbery was a business and murder a virtue. ... White men they oppressed as far as they dared, and Indians they treated as they found convenient. The very best of them committed crimes which were legally punishable with death, perpetrated indignities on persons they disliked, terrorized whole communities, and obtained a halo of romantic glory simply because people dared not talk about them. The third class, and it included a majority of the people, were men of decent character and sentiment, but they had little sympathy for the Indians in general. ... The sentiment against the Red man was still strong in the Mississippi Valley. Many had seen instances of the frightful cruelty of the Indians, and many had been attacked on their overland journey when they had given no cause for it. Besides, they had absolutely no time to consider abstract questions of right and wrong. Men of the first and second class wronged the Indians; the Indians retaliated, usually on the innocent because they were more convenient and

less dangerous; the entire community was involved, and frequently innocent Indians suffered. ... There was less of this in California than in other mining localities. The reason was that a part of the Indians submitted to the indignities put upon them and the rest got out of the way " (Dunn, 1886, pp. 118ff.).

The danger from the Indians was greatly exaggerated "by men who were charged with scheming to bring on a war," (Dunn, ibid.) and the governor of California, John McDougal, asked President Fillmore for aid. Arms were sent. At the last moment the government changed its plans, and sent commissioners to treat with the Indians (Senate Documents, 1850, p. 151; BIA, 1852), most of whom agreed to go on reservations (Senate Documents, 1851, p. 140). Immediately a hue and cry went up in the state. The commissioners were accused of every crime, and "acting like the abolition gentry who persuaded slaves to run away." Much of the early California population was Southern in derivation and sympathies; in Round Valley, according to a teacher who was a long-time resident, they were largely from Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia. An article in the San Francisco Alta of February 9, 1852, points out that "almost in the same breath (as the treaties are opposed) another suggestion is made, asking Congress to assume and pay the entire Indian war debt of the state, which, but for the labors of these Commissioners and the provisions of these identical treaties, would by this time have been eight or ten instead of two millions of dollars." Though most of the newspaper articles at the time were full of inflammatory material about Indian depredations, and demands that they be removed, this author points out that the land on the reservations was not worth more than a dime an acre to any business man or company in California, and felt that the opposition to the treaties was for the purpose "of making political capital out of what little they know of this subject ... and was to have been expected from men who act upon the maxim that 'all's fair in politics'." When one of the commissioners wrote to him describing a massacre of Indians on the north fork of the Eel River just above Round Valley, Governor Bigler answered that such statements were "an imputation on the character of American citizens." In 1855 a special message to the Legislature said, "A decided expression should be transmitted to the States, and a rejection of the treaties by which these reservations are secured earnestly urged."

Not only did the United States Senate not ratify the treaties, but it put them under cover of secrecy, where they remained until 1905. Several reservations were established, the two largest and most permanent being in Round Valley and Hupa Valley, two places where the Indians had put up resistance

(See Addendum 1.). The Indians who never came under the reservation system became squatters, with no rights at all. Some individuals were evicted as many as half a dozen times. One needed only to cultivate the ground and build a little house, to have a White man come and kick him off. It is said that if the most barren piece of mountain land was reserved for Indians, that was enough to make White men want it.

On the reservations the Indians decreased less rapidly than they would have otherwise, and they did have a place to stay, but very little else can be said for the system. Much, however, was said against it (Addendum 5). An article by J. Ross Browne clears up several obscure points in the history of the California Indians after White contact (Browne, 1861, pp. 21-22).

"The cost of these establishments was such as to justify the most sanguine anticipations of their success. ... In order that the appropriations might be devoted to their legitimate purpose, and the greatest possible amount of instruction furnished at the least expense, the executive department adopted the policy of selecting officers experienced in the art of public speaking, and thoroughly acquainted with the prevailing systems of primary elections. ... In one respect, I think the policy of the Government was unfortunate ... that is, in the disfavor with which persons of intemperate and disreputable habits were regarded. [Browne knows that they were so regarded because there were regulations posted at all reservations prohibiting persons in the service from getting drunk and appropriating the Indians' wives.] Men of this kind - and they are not difficult to find in California, could do a great deal toward ameliorating the moral condition of the Indians by drinking up all the whiskey that might be smuggled on the reservations, and behaving so disreputably in general that no Indian, however degraded his propensities, could fail to become ashamed of such low vices. [The Indians got pantaloons and shirts which were transparent and blankets which made good windowpanes.] Old drug stores were cleared of their rubbish, and vast quantities of croton oil, saltpetre, alum, scent-bottles, mustard, vinegar, and other valuable laxatives, diphoretics, and condiments were supplied for their use. ... The Indians were taught the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of the earth. Large supplies of potatoes were purchased in San Francisco, at about double what they were worth in the vicinity of the reservations. There were only twenty-five thousand acres of public land available at each place for the growth of potatoes or other esculent for which the hungry might have preference; but it was easier to purchase potatoes than to make farmers out of the White men employed to teach them how to cultivate the earth. Sixteen or seventeen

men on each reservation had about as much as they could do to attent to their own private claims, and keep the natives from eating their private crops. ... Not that they were all absolutely worthless. On the contrary, some spent their time in hunting, others in riding about the country, and a considerable number in laying out and supervising private claims, aided by the Indian labor and government provisions.

"The official reports transmitted to Congress from time to time give flattering accounts of the progress of the system. The extent and variety of the crops were fabulously grand. Immense numbers of Indians were fed and clothed - on paper. ... The favorite prediction of the officers in charge was that in a very short time these institutions would be self-sustaining - that is to say, that neither they nor the Indians would want any more money after a while. ... But the most extraordinary feature ... was the interpretation of the Independent Treasury Act of 1846 [in regard to misuse of public funds, which] was so amended in the construction of the Department as to mean 'except in such cases where such officer has rendered peculiar services to the party, and possesses strong influences in Congress.' It was perfectly well understood that five hundred or a thousand head of cattle did not necessarily mean real cattle with horns, legs, and tails, actually born in the usual course of nature, purchased for money and delivered on the reservations. ... for all the good the Indians got out of them, it might as well be five hundred or a thousand head of voters, for they no more fed upon beef, as a general rule, than they did upon human flesh. ... In short, the original purpose of language was so perverted in the official correspondence, that it had no more to do with the expression of facts than many of the employees had to do with the Indians. ... It invariably happened that when a visitor appeared on the reservations the Indians were 'out in the mountains gathering nuts and berries.' This was the case in the spring, summer, autumn and winter. They certainly possessed a remarkable predilection for staying out a long time. Very few of them indeed, have yet come back. ... The only difference between the existing state of things and that which existed prior to the inauguration of the system, is that there were then some thousands of Indians living within the limits of the districts set apart for reservation purposes, whereas there are now only some hundreds. In the brief period of six years, they have been nearly destroyed by the generosity of the government. What neglect, disease and starvation have not done, has been achieved by the cooperation of the White settlers in the great work of extermination.

"No pretext has been wanted, no opportunity lost, whenever it has been deemed necessary to get them out of the way. At Nome Cult (Round Valley), during the winter of 1858-9, more

than a hundred and fifty peaceable Indians, including women and children, were cruelly slaughtered by the Whites who had settled there under official authority, and most of whom derived their support either from actual or indirect connections with the reservation. Many of them had been in public employ, and now enjoyed the rewards of their meritorious services. ... True, a notice was posted up on the trees that the valley was public land reserved for Indian purposes, and not open to settlement, but nobody, either in or out of the service, paid any attention to that, as a matter of course. ... It was alleged that they (the Indians) had driven off and eaten private cattle. ... Upon an investigation of this charge made by the officers of the army, it was found to be entirely destitute of truth. A few cattle had been lost, or probably killed by White men, and this was the whole basis of the massacre. Armed parties went into the rancherias in open day, when no evil was apprehended, and shot the Indians down - weak, harmless, defenceless as they were - without distinction of age or sex ... shot down women with sucking infants at their breasts, killed or crippled the naked children that were running about; and after they had achieved this brave exploit, appealed to the state government for aid. ... They did it, and they did more. For days, weeks, and months they ranged the hills of Nome Cult, killing every Indian that was too weak to escape; and, what is worse, they did it under a state commission, which, in all charity, I must believe was issued on false representations. A more cruel series of outrages than those perpetrated upon the poor Indians of Nome Cult never disgraced a community of White men. ...

"I will do the White people who were engaged in these massacres the justice to say that they were not so much to blame as was the general government. They had at least given due warning of their intention. For years they had burdened the mails with complaints of the inefficiency of the agents. ... It was repeatedly represented that unless something was done, the Indians would soon all be killed. They could no longer make a subsistence in their old haunts. The progress of settlement had driven them from place to place until there was no longer a spot on earth which they could call their own. Their next move could only be into the Pacific Ocean. ... A more harmless and inoffensive race of beings does not exist on the face of the earth; but, wherever they attempted to procure a subsistence, they were hunted down; driven from the reservations by the instinct of self-preservation; shot down by settlers upon the most frivolous pretexts; and abandoned to their fate by the only power which could have afforded them protection " (See Addendum 4B.).

Round Valley had been a farm connected with the Nomlaki reservation since 1856, and in 1858 it was decided to make it

a reservation because it was very fertile and quite isolated, so that, presumably, no White man would be likely to be interested in it (See Addendum 3.). Thomas J. Henley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, in a report to Mix, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, states: "It is isolated ... and incapable of white settlement " (BIA, 1858). In fact, White settlers, in addition to those connected with the Indian Service, were encouraged to stay by Henley, who was for some years thereafter, until succeeded in this role by Barclay Henley, the "leader of the copperhead settlers" in the valley (BIA, 1864, p. 129). In the report of the Special Commissioner, Robert J. Stevens, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (BIA, 1867) the holdings of twenty-six settlers in Round Valley are listed (Addendum 7). Third largest holding is that of the four Henley brothers, presumably the sons of Henley whom he mentioned in a letter to Senator Latham dated January 10, 1862 (Addendum 3). Covelo, the present (White) town, lies in the middle of the valley, south of the present, reduced, reservation, in the heart of the coast range. The summers are hot and dry but the annual rainfall is over thirty inches and when the winter storms start, the Eel River, which flows around the valley beyond the first mountains, and the tributary that drains it are swollen considerably; there is a heavy snowfall in the mountains which isolated the valley from the rest of the world for about four months of the year at the time the reservation was set up. It is said that the valley was once the bottom of a lake; the soil is rich and black. Before it was drained, there were some ponds in it, and the stream had a wide shallow bed. The foothills are dotted with oaks, manzanita bushes, etc.; hunting was, and still is, excellent. The higher slopes have many varieties of pine and spruce. The valley was expected to support thousands of Indians. It was ideal.

The Indian population of Round Valley varied, bands being brought in at different times and different places, leaving when they could escape and/or when the settlers threatened them. In addition to this, relations among the bands were none too good. Some had been traditional enemies, if not of the particular bands they were thrown in with, then of others of the same linguistic groups. In any case, they were strangers to each other and therefore hostile. The settlers used this animosity when they could, and in some cases it served them well without having to be invoked. A Yuki band once asked the Pomo of the Upper Eel River to join with them against the Whites, and were promptly betrayed and slaughtered by the Whites at the now famous Bloody Rock (Powers, 1872, p. 309; Addendum 4D). In the battle of Horse Canyon, another spot near Round Valley, named from the circumstances of a massacre, the settlers took Concows with them in pursuit of Wailaki raiders

and let the Indians do most of the shooting. The Concow were always "good Indians," who welcomed the protection of soldiers against Yuki and Wailaki (Tassin, 1884, p. 7).

The United States Army was represented in Round Valley from 1859 to 1869. The first small group, seventeen men, were under Lieutenant Dillon, a young man who "in his conscientious efforts to obey the dictates of humanity toward the Indians, unfortunately incurred the enmity of many of the Whites; ... conflicting interests, or rather prerogatives of the civil, military, and Indian authorities, added to the White and Indian complications, were difficult to harmonize or conciliate, and his endeavors to compel a certain class of White men to discontinue their outrages on the Indians were openly, and in one or two instances successfully, resisted" (Tassin, 1884, p. 2). He refused to cooperate with Jarboe's company of volunteers unless they brought proof of Indians' guilt, and Indians came to him in numbers for protection from the "bad white men." The same year, 1859, settlers sent a memorial, before the state took responsibility for volunteers, to Major Johnson at Fort Weller, who, in reporting on his refusal, wrote, "The memorialists wish a company of volunteers called into the service for the purpose of exterminating the Indians. This work has been going on since the first settlement of the country, but not fast enough to suit the views of certain unscrupulous speculators and stockowners." At the same time, be it said for the reputation of Round Valley, other citizens sent two counter-memorials (Tassin, 1887, p. 27; Addendum 4). Johnson goes on to mention that twenty Indians were shot on suspicion of having killed stock: "Precautions had been taken in the last massacre to disarm the Indians and burn their bows and arrows....an armed party in the mountains looking for lost stock attacked every village of Indians they came upon, and massacred some 200 or more, men, women and children" (Tassin, 1887, pp. 27-28). Johnson concludes that about 600 Indians had been killed in the past year.

The company under Dillon went east for the Civil War, and was replaced by Captain Douglas and the Second California Volunteer Infantry Company. Investigating the charges of the Indian Office against the settlers, he decided that the agents were largely responsible for conditions on the reservation, although after the report by J. Ross Browne the administration had been changed. On the reservation, we read, "the interests of the Government and of the Indians have been grossly and shamefully neglected" (Tassin, 1887, p. 170). Douglas at first found the settlers quiet and made only two political arrests, but after he arrested a man who had stolen Indian children, kidnapped a woman, and sold liquor to Indians and Whites, and kept him in the guardhouse for two days, Douglas

found himself involved in a suit for false arrest at a time when he could not leave his post to testify in his own behalf, and when every lawyer in the country had been retained against him. Two other United States infantry companies came to the valley within the next few years. All the soldiers were on friendly terms with the Indians; several Indian agents regarded the soldiers as the main transmitters of venereal disease to the Indians. One of the Chinese who cooked for the military has descendants on the reservation today.

In 1873 the agent on the reservation was the Rev. Burchard, a Methodist Episcopal missionary, who evidently approached the Indians kindly and was rewarded by the sudden and complete acceptance of Christianity. However, Stephen Powers described the reservations at that time in the following way: "I have seen them, and they are so raw, so bald, so primitive in their uses, and so crude in their outcome that they were scarce worth the visiting, except for the opportunity they afforded for noting the workings of the natural and unregenerate Indian mind. As for giving any glimpse of the benefits bestowed by the White Man upon the savage, why, bless you, the scope and significance of those benefits are pretty much measured by bushels of wheat and gallipots of mollifying ointment. Not but that the agents are sincere and Christian men, and the majority of their subalterns likewise, in seeming; but the chasm between them and the wretched, unhappy Indians is world-wide; and into that chasm little is hurled to bridge it over save bright bayonets, granaries of wheat and corn, and utterly maladroit Christian endeavor, quite useless because quite too spiritual minded to compel the Indian, by the whole military power of the United States, if necessary, to construct for himself a chimney, and change his linen. ... They lay the cornerstone among the stars; and meantime the untutored savage is weeping his eyes out in the accursed, bitter, eternal smudge of his cabin" (Powers, 1872, V. 8, pp. 325ff.).

Meanwhile in and outside of Round Valley the Indians had been living in close contact with White men for over twenty years. The first White men in Round Valley are described as "floaters," unattached hunters and herders who, "having no interest at stake, were not overscrupulous in conduct to Indians" (Tassin, 1887, p. 26). The gold rush immigrants are said by the accepted historian of the county to have behaved "like a generation of bachelors. The family was beyond the mountains; the restraints of society had not yet arrived" (Palmer, 1880, p. 54ff.). Round Valley attracted outlaws, too, and men are still pointed out as scions of wealthy Eastern families who cannot claim their inheritances because they changed their names and have no proof of their identity. There were outlaws from all over California, too, which,

considering the general state of affairs in the early days, is saying a great deal. Many of these men stayed long enough to "raise a raft of kids with a squaw" and left when things had quieted down where they came from.

However, the Indians had close relations with more respectable citizens as well. The "Indian fighters" were, in their dealings with other White men and in their families, often the kindest and best of men. Nordhoff says, in explanation, not defense of their deeds, that an old Indian fighter "sits down after dinner over a pipe, and relates to you with quite horrifying coolness every detail of the death which his rifle and sure eye dealt to an Indian; the tragedy had not even the dignity of an event in his life ... he shot Indians as he ate his dinner, plainly as a matter of course; nor was he a brute, but a kindly, honest, good fellow, not in the least blood-thirsty" (Nordhoff, 1877, p. 185). And "many of the most respectable settlers in Mendocino County have testified ... that they kill Indians found in what they consider hostile districts, whenever they lose cattle or horses, nor do they attempt to conceal or deny this fact" (California Legislature, Appendix to the Journal, Document 4, 1860). The Majority Report found the Mendocino "war" unnecessary and avoidable, although the representations to the governor were "of such a character and from such sources, that it would have been an apparent neglect of duty had he failed to authorize the organization of a company." The minority wrote that the war was necessary and justified, and offered the following solution for the Indian problem. "The general government should first cede to the State of California the entire jurisdiction over Indians and Indian affairs within our borders, and make such donations of land and other property and appropriations as would be adequate to make proper provision for the necessities of a proper management. The State should then adopt a general system of peonage or apprenticeship, for the proper disposition and distribution of Indians by families among responsible citizens. General laws should be passed regulating the relations between the master and servant, and providing for the punishment of any meddlesome interference on the part of other parties. In this manner the Whites might be provided with profitable and convenient servants, and the Indians with the best of protection and all the necessaries of life in permanent and comfortable homes. This will be denounced by those who affect to believe in the doctrine of universal equality, but a long acquaintance with the nature, character, and habits of the California tribes, suggest to me that this policy toward the Indians would be the most ameliorate..." (California Legislature, 1860).

This recommendation was unnecessary. Slavery, in one form or another, had been going on from the beginning. Indian children were kidnapped, often during the raids in which adults were killed (Addendum 2). Indians went to work for Whites, practically as peons, on the farms and ranges. A state law requiring that Indians wear clothes made them still more dependent on the Whites, who considered them private property and in many cases followed them to the reservation. In 1861 a state law was passed legalizing a system of indenture which, according to the report of the Indian Commissioner, was equivalent to outright slavery, since it had no guarantees of good treatment and no penalties for White masters who abused the privilege (BIA Report, 1861). It may be repeated that many of the Americans had come from the Southern states, and, especially in the northern counties of California there were numerous secessionists. Six years after the Emancipation Proclamation the military commander of the company in Round Valley reported that Whites were still stealing Indians for peons, (Addendum 2) and in 1872 "apprenticed" Indians had passes to go to the Ghost Dance celebration at Clear Lake (Powers, 1874).

The failure of slavery, which White residents say "never worked," is attributed to the character of the Indians, who are contrasted with the "docile" Negroes in the East. Whether Negroes were docile is beside the point, Indians had the advantage of being on familiar ground. Often even young children ran away. One was my informant, a Wailaki woman, now 89. "Pet" Indians occasionally killed their masters, usually in self-defense, and the Yuki "uprising" suspects (1863) were Indians employed on farms in Round Valley (Addendum 4B).

Many Indian women were wives, usually without ceremony, of early settlers and many more the mothers of half-White children. In 1880 the historian of the county discussed this: "Too good to associate with the people of their mothers, and no whit better than their mothers' people in the estimation of the whites. ... The fathers of these children are universally men of means." He goes on to suggest an association of fathers to establish a home for their children, "and let each man pay his pro-rata in proportion to the number of children he puts into the home." The majority of the men who, in an early day, consorted with Indian women, as soon as practicable married white women. The consequence of this is "sometimes that those white women whose husbands never consorted with Indian women are a little inclined to consider themselves free from the taint, as it were" (Palmer, 1880, p. 42). This factor may be important in creating the intense race prejudice which still exists, since one hears today that the most rabid "Indian-haters" are women whose husbands have had affairs with Indian girls.

The story of the land ring which dominated Round Valley from its first settlement was given in a newspaper article called "The Stolen Valley." (San Francisco Daily Examiner, February 5, 1888, pp. 9-10) The writer blamed Henley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for most of the trouble, since he invited settlers to come to the valley and, after his dismissal, seized the largest slice (Addendum 3; BIA 1862; BIA 1867). A long struggle went on, with agents writing to Washington regularly, protesting against the trespassing and getting no help, until after a series of maneuvers on the part of the settlers, under the guidance of Barclay Henley, the reservation was reduced in 1873 to only five thousand acres in the northern part of the valley (Addendum 3). The bill was passed by legislative sleight of hand in the closing days of the rushed session. "The Round Valley stockmen never did a better day's work for themselves than when they rushed the Act of March 3, 1873, through Congress, and the credit which the Henleys always claimed for that performance has never been grudged them by their neighbors." The same bill, however, increased the mountain holdings of the reservation to 100,000 acres, invaluable grazing land for trespassers who could use it tax-free. "From that day to this, the history of Round Valley is a record of encroachment on one side and inactivity on the other; ... tenders of appraised value have not been followed by removal. The places of those who accepted payment and removed have been taken by others who 15 years ago had no claim upon the reservation at all."

The article goes on to describe evasion of land laws, perjury, even suggests that murder was resorted to by the big cattlement to control the land. Homicide in the area was common and seldom punished; larceny often brought a longer prison term (Palmer, 1880, p. 224). It quotes a citizen of the county: "Everybody up there, from the highest to the lowest, thinks he has a perfect right to make all he can out of the government, and if the land laws have to suffer, so much the worse for the laws." By 1888 the land of one "cattle king" had increased from 160 to 100,000 acres, which, with stock, was estimated to be worth easily $2,000,000.

After initial inaction on the part of the government, the article continues, some of the agents were controlled by the stockmen, and others continued to send their pitiful reports to Washington, which, as the stockmen said, was a long way off. Finally United States troops, which had failed to remove the settlers, were ejected and retired to the Presidio; the writer characterized this as "the crowning act in a record which will make the story of Round Valley almost without parallel in the annals of audacity" (Above quotes all from San Francisco Daily Examiner, February 5, 1888).

This analysis was supported by a letter to the Indian Office (BIA, 1887) from one of the early settlers who had accepted payment for his land. He described the successful work of the land speculators and went on to predict that they would have another "act passed by Congress similar to the act of 1873, curtailing the reservation to a few hundred acres, restoring the balance to the public grazing lands at a nominal sum, and, as before, secure title to all of their vast possessions by fraudulent entries through the dummies in their employ." And in 1890 just such a law was passed, "to reduce the Round Valley Indian Reservation," and a commission appointed to appraise the land held under state law (land which, though excellent, had been claimed under California law as "swamp and overflowed land"), to choose land for allotment in common or in severalty to Indians and appraise the improvements on it. In 1893 they reported that 63,841.57 acres were to be restored to the public domain and sold publicly, the Indians to receive credit for the proceeds. Trespassers who refused to accept the value of the land were removed by a detachment of troops, holders of California patents finally gave deeds to their land, and the allotments were made in 1894-5.

The first allotments were of ten acres of valley land, but Indians came in in such numbers that the allotments of married women who had husbands entitled to land were reduced to five acres, and mountain land was allotted. The Indians had been looking forward to this since before the passage of the bill in 1890, but one may assume that White settlers had something to do with the anxiety of the Indians for individual land holding, since the first leases were negotiated soon afterwards.

About this time the agency as such was abolished. A lieutenant of the United States Infantry was put in charge until 1896, when the superintendent of the school took over. At first, reports to Washington were that the Indians were making good use of the land, and some continued to do so, but in 1897 the stockmen were still grazing their cattle on the reservation, and "if a witness against them could be neither coaxed nor terrified into silence, he got a bullet, and the local magistrate made a perfunctory investigation. Much of the machinery issued to the Indians was allowed to rust. The report adds, "In addition, there is no unity among the Indians, due to petty tribal jealousies incident to the remnents of so many different tribes living together. It is not remarkable that progress is nil. They were suddenly released from restraints, discouraged by constant losses from the stock raiders, drugged with adulterated whiskey they are so easily led to swallow, debauched by idleness and dissipation, and defrauded on every hand, they naturally tend to sink into the vice and sloth of their ancient savage state" (BIA Annual Report, 1897, p. 121),

The first leases were negotiated in 1900, after the agent reported that the fertile allotments were covered with shrubs and needed draining, which the Indians had neither physical nor financial means of doing, and suggested that lease money could be applied to improving the land. He also pointed out that the issuance of machinery, clothing, and subsistence only kept the Indians in idleness. The land brought from $1.00 to $2.00 per acre per year.

The end of these reservation land problems came in 1906, when the agent reported that for the relinquished portion of the reservation, for which the government virtually agreed in 1890 the Indians were to receive $50,000, the Indians had received nothing, representing a loss, including interest and principal to date, of $100,000. The superintendent said that "the original bill would have defrauded the Indians of all remuneration for the land, and the bill as passed is a rank injustice to them" (BIA, 1906, p. 210).

From here on the official reports from Round Valley are almost entirely routine, the only transactions being in regard to land leasing, heirship tangles, etc. In 1920 the trust period ended for many of the allotments, and the land "melted like snow off the mountain." Some was bought by Whites; more was lost through non-payment of taxes or debts, through fraud and "straight business deals." Once they had ready cash, the Indians were singled out by high-pressure salesmen.

At about this time several of important recent developments started--the Pentecostal Church and the action to bring to the Court of Claims a suit for the value of the land and goods promised to the California Indians in the "Lost Treaties." In 1923 the Sacramento Indian Office took over control of what was left of the Round Valley reservation, and only a doctor and the school administration remained as residents. In recent years the work of the agent and clerk has become a tremendous correspondence with the Indians on all sorts of matters. A land officer and school officer make trips to Round Valley and the rancherias at intervals. The agent's report for 1936-7 includes the following recommendation:

"I say with measured words that when the Federal Government has equipped all of its wards with good houses located either on excellent farming land or near a labor market <u>as the individual may desire</u> the sooner the Federal Government gets out of Indian affairs in California the better" (BIA, 1936).

The results, then, of the contact of Americans with Indians have been in the first place to wreck the economic and social life of the Indians. The remnants of bands were placed on the

reservation under armed guard, given rations, and used as laborers by the government employees and settlers. So rapid was cultural breakdown, that by 1870 English was spoken to a large extent, the Ghost Dance was spreading from the northeast, and Powers was writing: "It is frequently hard work to scrape away the debris created by the White Man during twenty years and get down to the bedrock of tribal organization. The California tribes crumble under the touch of the Paleface" (Powers, 1877). Government officials had more subtle ways of profiting from their positions, while settlers used more obvious methods, but, according to a White woman who has lived in Round Valley for many years, "Just because they were Indians, White men, respectable men, cheated them and exploited them in every way they could."

What was left of Indian attitudes and social customs toward the end of the century came under the influence of the semi-official Methodist Church and an inept school system, in the form of non-physical attack on religious and sexual attitudes (Addendum 5, Land of Sunshine, 1900).

Acculturation Process

Most of the damage to Indian culture was done before 1870, and what remains exists only for a few old Indians who were children in the 1850s and for even fewer in the next generation. Some survivals, like the feasts to celebrate recovery from illness and the wailing at funerals, are carried on mostly by the old women, and even these are disappearing with the last of the old-timers.

For survivals which are less obviously Indian than these, difficulties of interpretation arise. It is often impossible to decide whether a given trait is Indian in origin and happened to last because it was in line with White culture or because no White group had strong reasons to oppose it, or whether the trait came from White culture in or near Round Valley. For generalizations even to approach validity one should know the White culture and history as well. Lacking that, I checked my observations over long periods of time in official and unofficial capacities. It seems clear that whatever overt manifestation of Indian life which remained after the first crushing blows and was inconvenient for White settlers, was rooted out. Grass games went on in secret for a time, partly because, although the church opposed them, White men attended and bet on them. Religious activities probably continued in attenuated forms until, in recent years, they were again allowed and sponsored by Whites. It was almost impossible for Indians to carry on secret activities since there were always

Indians who, for various personal reasons, would carry tales to the Whites.

Acceptance of New Culture Elements

The economy of the Whites, as it existed in early California, had to be accepted by the Indians, whose experience of it was as government dependents living on rations in exchange for forced labor, or as peons. To what extent they accepted White economic values is another question. Their education was not calculated to encourage it. The special agent, Bailey, wrote in 1858: "Some few of them, it is true, are taught to plough, to sow, to reap, to handle an axe and the like; but they are not taught the use of this knowledge. They learn the thing, but not the reason for it, and therefore it makes no permanent impression and leads to nothing. The Indian performs his task because he is told to do it; he does it mechanically and is no more improved by it than the ox he drives. They are both educated by the same method, to about the same degree, and with very nearly the same results; and even this education is confined to a small number" (BIA, 1858).

It was soon discovered that the Indians made excellent shepherds, sheep-shearers, and fruit- and hop-pickers, and they were employed as such. By association with Whites, and by work on the ranches, they learned the techniques of agriculture, but few have been able to apply their knowledge, and still fewer successfully. Indian economic techniques have been used to a very slight extent, and then only to supplement with game and acorns the food allowance. It is not strange that whatever desire to provide for the future the old culture stimulated has been lost without being replaced by the strong urge for accumulation that the people of Covelo have. The Indians, recognizing this trait, consider White people selfish.

They observe how White people live, many of the women having worked at house-cleaning, washing and cooking for White families, and they imitate it as far as their poverty permits.

Various shades of Christian doctrine are represented on the reservation. Catholic influence stems from the Spanish and Mexican occupation of the country south of Round Valley, and a visiting priest still comes to minister to the members. The Methodist Church gained its adherents by virtue of being the government religion in 1873, and having a church building, and through several misconceptions. The first conversions were in great numbers and the agent-preacher rejoiced that "all pagan practices and habits have been abandoned" (BIA, 1873). But observers saw little material basis for the

regeneration, and four years later, the Indians, failing to get the land promised them, "are fast losing confidence in promises and, as a fearful result, a reaction has taken place. Scores are lost to the church - lost all their interest therein - and I fear will be lost forever" (BIA, 1877). The next agent found that the "Babes in Christ had been 'fed' (starved) on unsuitable food. As one of our Indians described it, 'Indians all good Christians long as sugar-barrel not empty; but bimeby sugar all gone, mos' all slide back'" (BIA, 1878). Church attendance was bolstered by old people who went for the sake of a kindly pat on the back and a chance to talk to other people. "They didn't know A from B, and they slept through the sermons, but they went regularly and took their two bits wrapped in a handkerchief," said one of my informants.

Marriage, a constant preoccupation of the missionaries, if not of the Indians, was taken with as little understanding. Several couples were "tied twice" in different denominations, but marriage continued to follow the easy rules of Indian custom. In 1895 old couples who had been living together for years had legal marriages performed at the suggestion of the officials to insure inheritance by their children.

Elimination of Old Culture Elements

In a general way, and tentatively, the old elements can be arranged in order of their disappearance.

Independent economic life stopped short, but the gathering of acorns still goes on. Venison and fish still supplement the diet, but no more than in the diet of White people, and probably less, since the Indians lack the price of a license and take chances when they hunt and fish. Only one man still uses a fishing spear.

Open tribal feuds were stopped by the soldiers in early reservation days, but a few murders occurred. One, over a suspected "poisoning," went unpunished. Several others ended in prison terms. "Poisoning," or black magic, was prohibited under threat of hanging, and the fear of betrayal must have put a stop to it at once. Indians tried to use it against Whites, but it did not work: "They were too light."

Indian languages were among the first traits to be lost. Very early, English was used for communication with other tribes, and under compulsion by the Whites. In school Indian languages were effectively discouraged. Now, many middle-aged people can understand, but not speak, the aboriginal languages; very few, if any, of the younger generation, can even understand them.

Boarding schools took most of them away from home during the years when they might have learned something of old customs, and even recently, within the last fifteen or twenty years, children were forcibly prevented from using Indian expressions or playing Indian games in the day school.

Chieftainship lasted by virtue of its informality. In the beginning the Whites appointed "captains," men who spoke English and could transmit the orders of the agents to their people. The Indians had no objection to choices made by Whites since the chief, even in the old days, had to be a fluent, good-natured, peaceable man, the sort who best served the purposes of both parties. The only case mentioned in which difficulty arose was one in which the government farmer tried to make Captain Bill, the Concow chief, work against his will and habit. The farmer set fire to the sweathouse and Captain Bill, without a word to anyone, saddled his horse and rode to Paskenta, where he died. Several of the early "captains" were Methodist preachers. This also created no conflict. Even the Concow, whose chief was chosen by the "masons," found this acceptable. "The Concow didn't mind, because it was easier to talk to him if the White people made him a preacher."

The last Concow "captain" died about six years ago. "The agent appointed him and the people liked him. He told the people what to do, and he went to the agent. He was good-natured, quick speaking to anybody, conducts himself right. People were all satisfied with him. He died chief. Now everybody for themselves." One very intelligent Wailaki man fits the old ideal, but I heard no mention of him as chief until one of the former agents spoke of him as such. Told about it, he agreed, "Might as well be." He "looks out for" his old people, is not easily angered, hauls wood and does odd jobs for other Indians, digs graves, and makes himself generally and unobtrusively useful. At present, one of the younger councilmen is said to be the leader of the reservation, who keeps petty bickering in check, and is trusted by Whites and Indians. None of the Indians spoke to me about him, but he identifies himself with them and does everything he can to improve their conditions. Many of his relatives are said to depend on him. He uses his education in behalf of the Indians, leading the council, writing to investigation committees, etc.

Ceremonials lasted for a long while, almost to the present, but it is difficult to determine at what point they became a performance put on for the benefit of the Whites and with their contributions. When they did take place, however, the old Indians seem to have kept the aboriginal attitude toward them, continuing to believe in the spirits and making the necessary arrangements to do the thing properly. Even before

1872 the sweathouses in the Clear Lake region had been burned by Whites or fallen into disuse. Feather dances have been made part of the Fourth of July celebrations in Round Valley, but the last one is described as a pathetic affair, with an old, blind, half-Concow man beating time with the split-stick, the dancers wearing feather coats with suspender straps, and only a few young men showing verve in dancing. A half-hearted attempt to have a feather dance last summer fell through when the Whites who had promised to raise money for the affair (money is essential for the spirits) backed out. To prevent disaster, the Indians (mostly Concow, it seems) gave a "lunch" so that the spirits would not cause disaster to fall on them. The complete loss of ceremonials now is due to the dying off of the old people, the lack of interest of the young, the need for financial support, and the existence of the Pentecostal Church which this year held a revival on the Fourth of July. About ten years ago there was a sweathouse in Round Valley. Today there is none.

Shamanism, in its social and political function, was destroyed almost at the first contact, but as a curing mechanism it continued. It still supplements White medicine, to which from the first the Indians responded well. It is claimed that Indian doctors have cured patients that White doctors gave up, and some White people employ Indian doctors. There is none in the valley now, but a Concow couple practised here until a few years ago, and occasionally an Indian doctor visits or is called in.

To a large extent the curing function has been taken over by the Pentecostal Church. From the beginning the Indians felt that White doctors could cure White diseases, like venereal disease, but they realized that, like Indian doctors, "sometimes they can cure it, sometimes they can't." The early government doctors could hardly have inspired much confidence and the hospitals in Willits and Ukiah, overcrowded and understaffed, do not encourage Indians to enter. However, the Indians are considered by government doctors to be more responsive to health campaigns, vaccination, etc., than the Whites.

Certain aspects of life in Round Valley might as easily be the results of White influence as survivals of Indian customs. "Lots of things here are the same ruling as the Indians got, from what they tell me," said a Wailaki who has observed White people carefully, and in several conversations he gave as examples of typical Indian personalities White men he knew.

At the same time, there are important obligations which are definitely aboriginal. Kin feeling is strong, and in

several cases men with moderate incomes are imposed on (from the White point of view) by relatives. However, since reciprocity no longer functions, the obligation works hardship on the ones who live up to it. Even the Wailaki "chief" admitted that he is "getting meaner" because he gets no return for the things he does, and he can no longer afford, since he is unemployed, to do things for nothing. Stinginess is gossiped about, though it does not stop some people from being stingy, any more than it did in the old days, when "some were mean and some were good." Another social situation which stems from Indian custom is the easy treatment of children, and the tendency of grandparents especially to give them their own way. The result, now that there are no solid groups, is that gossip and censure have no power over them, especially since the younger people have been taught by the school system to have no respect for old customs or old people who still use them, and many of them show a complete lack of control.

The Indians recognize the loss of their culture. The old Concow who was chief when his people were brought to the reservation is quoted as having said, "My past is dead; the present is passing; and I have no future" (Tassin, 1884, p. 7). An old Lassik woman who was a child when her band was wiped out, says often and sadly, "Halfway I learned it, White people came and broke it up." One experienced anthropological informant cannot understand why White men destroyed Indian life and now come to ask questions about it. White people who know the valley and the people speak of them as "a few old Indians and the rest disgruntled Whites."

Organized opposition to the Whites was almost impossible. The battles in which Yuki and Wailaki fought were usually forced upon them. One exception was the story of Bloody Rock (Powers, 1872, V. 9, p. 310; Addendum 4B). Murders of isolated White men occurred, when it was fairly safe or when provocation was intense. On the reservation five or six Yuki were hanged for planning the "last uprising" in 1863, but the circumstances surrounding the situation suggest that the "plot" may have been imaginary. Punishment followed so quickly that the facts never came out (See Addendum 4B.).

Later, the buildings of the Indian school were twice burned down by boys, who, according to the Indians, "were tired of school." Covelo Whites still offer this as proof of the worthlessness of Indians: "Give them education and see what they do." Several factors may account for the arson, though they are still unclear. Children were forcibly taken from their homes to what the Indians considered a pesthouse; punishment took the form of beatings with "blacksnakes," and "certain parties told the older boys the agent had no right to

keep them there." Later, the report of the principal teacher was that the robberies in 1895 were instigated by the White fathers of the half-Indian boys who carried them out and that punishment of these thefts involved the agency and the school and the lives of the employees were threatened (BIA, 1895, p. 137). Feelings had never been good between settlers and school or settlers and agency.

The only nativistic movement recorded was the ghost dance of 1871-2,* which Professor Kroeber analyzes in the Handbook of California Indians. "The ghost dance of 1871-4 had the same rituals and the same ideas as that of 1889-90, which touched hardly any California tribes. They were immune to the second, but why the second spread a thousand miles to the east and the first made no progress, can be explained only by the fact that in 1870 most of the Indian tribes had not been reduced to the necessary condition of cultural decay for revivalistic influence to impress them. That is, the native civilization of Northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870, twenty or twenty-five years after its first serious contacts with the Whites, as the average tribe of central United States had undergone by 1890, or from fifty to one hundred years after similar contact began. In the Plains it was the destruction of the buffalo, in California, the gold rush, and in each case, ten or twenty years after the death blow, realization of the change was great enough to provide soil for doctrine of restoration" (Kroeber, 1917, p. 868; 1904, pp. 32-35).

Reactions varied among tribes differently situated--some were enthusiastic, some aloof, and Dr. Kroeber expected intensive study to show that the skeptics were so situated that they did not consider the old life irrevocably gone. Many of the northern tribes show no traces of the dance, but the Pomo and Wintun, who had felt the effects of Mexican settlement and missions, felt the influence of the new religion.

The following is Mooney's description of the origin of the first ghost dance: The original Messiah was the father, or an older relative of Jack Wilson (Wovoka) who started the second and widespread dance. The older man, Tavibo (White Man), lived in Mason Valley. He was a Paiute, and when the White man came, he went into the mountains, met the great spirit, and came down with a revelation. He was told that an earthquake would swallow the Whites, but leave their improvements for the use of the Indians. Many were sceptics, and his second

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*Dr. Cora DuBois' manuscript on The Ghost Dance in Northern California unfortunately was unavailable in 1937.

revelation was that Indians and Whites would be destroyed, but the Indians would be resurrected in the flesh. This belief was popular, but it wore off. Finally the divine spirit, angry at the lack of belief, decided that the unbelieving Indians would be damned along with the Whites (Mooney, 1892, Pt. 2, p. 701ff.).

Dr. Spier points out that it went with speed and revivalistic effect in northern California, as the 1890 dances did to the east, but it was not inflammatory: "The California Indians were doubtless too well aware of their own impotence" (Spier, 1927, pp. 39-56).

At Round Valley "a report was circulated among all the Indians of this part of the State, the substance of which was that the world would end in the ensuing August, and that they need do nothing but dance, and so prepare themselves for a transfer to the 'happy hunting grounds.' They evinced their faith in the report by refusing to make any provision for their support after the set time, neglecting their gardens, both on and off the reservation, and only worked either to supply present necessities or as they were required to do so. No reasoning availed anything with them, and the result is that they have no produce of their own. Many of them see the folly of their course, and will not be apt to again throw away their prospects for a crop on the strength of an idle rumor" (BIA Annual Report, 1872).

The place nearest to Round Valley for which there is a description of the dance was Clear Lake, from which, shortly after the dance and perhaps because of it, many Pomo were taken to Round Valley. "Shamans were brought from Grand Island on the Sacramento River, and the Indians from the whole region, even as far west as the coast assembled here to celebrate this ceremony and await the end of the world which was expected immediately. They are said by the Whites to have numbered upwards of three or four thousand in all, and the celebration in this place lasted nearly a year" (Barrett, 1908).

A gathering of this size, from so large an area, indicates how completely tribal separation had broken down. This is the way Powers described it: "About that time, the Lone Pine earthquake occurred, and the prophets dreamed of another which would destroy the Whites, and the Indians would flee to Clear Lake to escape the dies irae. There was scarcity everywhere. Hundreds flocked to the lake. The coming earthquake was vague, but fishing and dancing were rare good sport, and 'apprenticed' Indians came with passes. Week after week slipped by, the time for planting passed, Whites were afraid and some banded together and chased them" (Powers, 1877, pp. 204ff.).

According to George Foster, who let me see the field note he was taking in Covelo, Santiago of Stonyford, a southeaster Pomo, brought the "bole" dance (the ghost dance of 1870, or a revival under its influence) to the Yuki. The people who join were told that they would meet their parents; White people would be subject to the Indians, who would get power to turn them out. "We're going to have plenty of money." Santiago told them that whenever he smoked and cleaned his pipe, four bits fell out. The return of the dead had been an element of the old ghost religion as well as of the 1870 dance.

In the revivals that occurred every once in a while, the dead came to the living in dreams to tell them to dance. Among the Pomo the priests of the new religion (Maru) got their power through dreams. Certain elements of the old cults, like the foot-drum and dance-houses, were carried on and spread by the new wave of dancing. The "dream dance" continued until about twenty years ago among the Wintun.

The only material on dances in Round Valley since 1870 is from a Concow Maidu woman whose dead husband and uncle came to her in a dream (she was one of those who dreamed frequently when she was young, but rejected doctoring power.) and told her that the people had forgotten to dance the "Big-Head." "Why it came to me I don't know." She told about the dream and the next night they had a dance. Another dance took place after her aunt had a dream in which a brother showed her a dance in heaven and gave her the song and costumes. She became ill, and recovered only after she had overcome her reluctance and had preparations made for the dance. "I saw my brother in heaven. He said I was in time to see a big dance. ... No masons now, old gone. Dream keeps coming, all I got to do is fulfill it." The song as paraphrased by her niece went like this:

> "This is the way we dance
> In this here white-geese-feathered-sweat-house.
> This is the way we dance and we want you to face north and dance.
> And we're angels from heaven dancing and this is the way we dance."

The Pentecostal Church serves, for a few old people at least, very much the same purpose as the Ghost Dance, and has similar concepts. But here again it is difficult to determine how much came from White culture. Even the idea that the end of the world is imminent is as important in the White Pentecostal religion, (and slightly less important in the Methodist and other Christian denominations) as it is on the reservation. But the Indians speak of it as the "Indian Church." Not only

has it taken a central role in the social and religious life of the group, poor though that may be, but it resembles shamanism in several important respects. Experience of God comes in dreams, the preachers doctor with song and with laying on of hands, there is talking in tongues, which resembles the speech of the spirits, and there is trance and vision experience. There were no opportunities for me to watch the services, but from descriptions given by Indians and Whites, the Pentecostal Church is revivalistic in its patterns of ritual, and in the fact that the Whites and unbelieving Indians are excluded from the glories of heaven. It will be discussed below as a feature of the present community.

Changes in Accepted and Retained Elements

If the elements of White culture accepted by the Indians have been changed, only long and intimate knowledge of both cultures would make it apparent. The same holds for retained elements. Some of them can be isolated, but whether and how they differ from the old customs is almost impossible to say. It was difficult to get definite and specific information in 1870, and few present informants can be trusted, because of the seriousness with which they take Christianity, and the conscious effort many of them make to equate old myths to Bible stories, and old customs to new. From the fact that there are still aboriginal religious beliefs held by the most ardent Christians, it seems that they have been very little, if at all, integrated with White beliefs, and even the Methodist exhorter who says he cannot serve two masters, obviously believes in the old tabus whether he admits it or not. Where current feeling coincides with past, observant informants are quick to point out that "White people have the same ruling that Indians used to have" (particularly in regard to being kind to people so they will like you, which is now expressed in the golden rule and brotherly love). Old Indians often remark that the young people "go by White ruling."

Only among the old people are there indisputably Indian customs and beliefs. A White woman who knows the Wailaki well, and is on the alert for signs of their background, quotes the Indians as saying: "It is easier to make an Indian out of a White man than a White man out of an Indian." The veneer of White culture, she says, is thin, and sometimes, under stress, the "true wood" shows through. However, she admits that this is infrequent, and gives as evidence three examples: wailing at a death, remnants of ceremonies, and obligations to one's relatives. The first two have by now almost disappeared, recent ceremonies showing a mixture of elements from different tribes. Obligations to relatives are increasingly difficult to carry out, and neglected by the majority of young people.

Among the old Indians, the Wailaki seem inclined to be more self-respecting, independent in spirit, observant and aware of themselves and their problems than the Concow, who are inclined to fawn. This fits nicely with what we know of the reported character of the two tribes, but it is hard to generalize from limited observation: my own observations were obtained from only three old people of each tribe, and two of the Concow were half-White. Also, even were the generalization to be established, it would be necessary to take into account the different histories of the two tribes. The Wailaki were affected by a sparse immigration of pioneers, and allowed to stay near their old homes, whereas the Concow were hit by the gold rush and transplanted across the mountains to a valley of hostile Whites and Indians.

As for the younger people, there are no traits that anyone, Indian or White, points to as being "Indian," much less as stemming from tribal affiliations. The decision of the Indian Office to call these "The Consolidated Round Valley Indians" (it was to be expected in view of the amount of genetic mixture) is significant, because the senior clerk at the Sacramento office, who has worked here some seventeen years, and knows almost all the Indians in the jurisdiction personally, feels, like many others, that the younger people are practically "poor Whites." Professor Kroeber finds Round Valley depressing because the Indians live neither in the past nor in the present.

The covert grudges, the undercurrent of hostilities which is expressed mostly in gossip, the informal leadership, and even, to a slight extent, kin solidarity, can be understood as a reflection of Covelo and the result of its influence, as readily as they can be referred to Indian life. Since the Whites were able to destroy anything they opposed in Indian customs, we may assume that the implicit sanction of the Whites (and, in some cases, their encouragement) was at least as significant in determining the present picture as the tendency of old attitudes to linger after the functioning culture of which they were a part had been destroyed.

Economic obligations to relatives which are retained to some extent, conflict with White economic drives, and even with the need to keep one's head above water. Some children, it is said, stay with their parents only to take advantage of old-age pensions or relief allowances, and one hard-working young man is impoverished by the relatives who come to be supported. Since there is no sanction for reciprocity, one who follows the custom is constantly at a disadvantage. This custom and a certain naivete toward economic manipulations account to some extent for the fact that the few estates that were built up before deeds were given for the land were dissipated. One old lady

ran through some $40,000, her relatives staying with her "as long as the money lasted and the automobile went."

Marriage, or the lack of legal marriage, is probably not very different from the old pattern of brittle monogamy, but it is said that the Indians learned from the first Whites "how to throw their women around." Informants tend to idealize the past in this respect. In all phases of life, however, the information that can be collected, necessarily through gossip and reconstruction, is always colored by the close association of Indians with Whites. Especially where recent events are involved, "you never know to how many White men an Indian has talked" said a former agent, and it is clear that the White men are involved in every situation which they think may be turned to advantage.

Changes in Attitudes toward White and Aboriginal Cultures

In the nature of the case, no gradual development can be traced, but the historical material indicates that the present attitudes are very much what they were soon after the first impact. In any case, the present situation is clear enough, though the attitudes may be contradictory.

The idealization of old social relationships is justified in that they were coordinated with economic realities as they are not now. Obligations were reciprocal and the band was the important functioning unit of society. Undoubtedly children could be kept in line with "talking to them," and wives may have been more faithful. However, the prestige of White culture was accepted at the beginning and is still felt strongly by the old people. Expert basketmakers show you, not their baskets, but their patchwork quilts to be admired. Methodists, Pentecostalists and even Catholics tell the old stories with conscious Christianization. Jesus, in one story, lived in Big Valley, in Pomo Country, and ascended to heaven from the top of Uncle Sam Mountain. They repeat with vigor that the Reorganization Act will make the Indians "sit on the floor and eat acorn soup." At the same time they keep the old tabus as far as they can, and deplore the "White ways," "educational ways" of the younger generation.

Young people have had no direct experience of Indian culture except in a few superficial forms like the feather dance and grass game, have been carefully discouraged from having respect for it, and when questioned most of them plead ignorance. One thirty-five-year-old woman knows something about it, because she was ill with tuberculosis for four years and stayed home instead of going away to boarding school when she was a

little girl. She is the only young woman who can make baskets. At the same time, she is more nearly "White" than many others in her housekeeping and the fact is that she and her husband are self-supporting and independent. Whether and how this is related to her upbringing, I cannot say. Many young people, having traveled considerable distances from Round Valley, know that the prejudice against Indian blood is less outside, and that beyond the three counties (Mendocino, Lake, and Sonoma) it is by comparison non-existent. They resent Covelo, and many want only to leave the valley permanently. Old Indians and Whites speak very badly of the young mixed-blood group. The Whites, according to one of the Indian Service men who visits the valley frequently, resent the aggressiveness of young Indians who, through their education, are better able to defend themselves than their grandparents were.

There is general resentment against the Indian woman who has had outstanding economic success. She is aggressive and boisterous, albeit good-hearted, and anxious to improve the condition of the Indians. Indian reaction may be not simply to one who has "gone White" (White observers, never Indians, used the word, for Indians never gave a reason for their hostility), but rather to one who has succeeded in it where most have failed.

Changes in the Value System

In the value system there was no opportunity, even had it been logically possible, for aboriginal attitudes to be modified in the direction of White. There is either retention of the old or acceptance of the new, or both, with attendant contradictions.

Aboriginally, even the Wailaki, nearest geographically and culturally to the Northwest Coast, although they traded in bearskins and shell and magnesite "money," did not manipulate property for prestige purposes, but felt that wealth consisted rather in useful objects, in having the things one needed to live and work. Broadly, such things evaluated in terms of the labor put into them and their scarcity. Property was given to a chief "so he could be proud" (Maidu) but it was also, and mainly, given so he could help his people if they needed anything, and so that he could properly receive visitors. Personal property was buried or burned with the deceased, for supernatural and emotional reasons.

Shortly after White objects came into the hands of the Indians, they used them as they had their own goods. Coins and gold pieces were put into the eyes and mouth of the dead,

and at a Pomo burial that Powers saw, household objects like old cruets and whiskey bottles were thrown into the grave. Maidu "burnings," at which comparatively little property was destroyed in aboriginal times, became lavish; coats, hats, shirts, and baskets were piled up and hung on the posts. However, valuable objects were usually traded just before the actual conflagration (Loeb, 1933, pp. 139-232), or auctioned off, frequently to Whites. The last "burning" which took place at Round Valley in 1882 has not been described. Even now, gifts of money seem to take the place of the old food sharing.

The Indians know that White men stress accumulation. One of them said, "A White man isn't satisfied unless he has a pocket full of money." An unusual man who knew a great deal about the old life and tried consciously to adjust himself to White standards, solved his problem by avoiding his "old folks" sometimes so that he would not have to do them favors. He stopped giving his wife money because she gave it to her relatives, which he could ill afford. He has worked all his life. Now he is over sixty and cannot get work from the farmers. They tell him he is too old for relief work, but when he asks for old-age pension, they say he is too young. He has no proof of his age. He says, "Early days we can get a job any place. If I knew what was coming, I could have had money in the bank. A man never learns 'til he gets too old. We should save money like White man." But even he has not learned how to make money at someone else's expense. Out of friendship, he sold me a feather basket at what it had cost him though he could easily have tripled the price. An old Lassik woman still talks about the "old, no-account" basket she sold for $35. She cannot understand why anyone should offer so much for a torn basket that was of no use to anyone. The feeling is strong that White attitudes are "stingy." However, there are some old Indians who are "tight" too, and there were a few in the old days as well.

The Present Community

The White town of Covelo is in the middle of Round Valley, which has a radius of about three miles. Highways (dirt roads that follow the old Indian trails over the summits and along the crests of the ridges) lead north to Eureka, east to Willows, Paskenta and the Sacramento Valley, and west to Dos Rios on the railroad and to Laytonville on the Redwood Highway. There are three general stores, three service stations, a hotel, pool-room and saloon, two churches, an electric plant and a school. The houses are rather close together in town, but scatter out beyond it. Several White families have homes on what was once the reservation, in the northern part of the valley. At the

southern end is the hop ranch, owned by one of the largest land companies in the state. The important occupation is cattle raising. It is said by Whites that the people in town are much wealthier than they look. "They don't go around in fancy cars, but they own as good sheep as any in California, and have fine bands of Hereford cattle." A group of three men is said to set wages and prices. One of the Indians feels that "the only really wealthy people in town are the shopkeepers.

A survey made in 1934 for the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (Senate, 1934) by a group including Dr. McGregor, Mr. Sidney J. Thomas, Mr. Gene Stirling, et al., in regard to economic conditions in Round Valley reports:

"The agricultural land is good enough in quality to yield two to three cuttings of alfalfa per year without irrigation, and oats do equally well. The growing season is from 100 to 150 days, with an annual rainfall of well over 30 inches. ... The range looked fair to good." It is said that the topography is such that grazing can go on all year round. If the winter rains start early enough to start the fresh grass in October, there is no problem of feeding the stock all winter.

"Covelo is 28 miles from Laytonville, and 14 miles from Dos Rios. In the winter these roads are practically impassable, and hazardous at all times. Due to this seclusion from outside market facilities, the local Whites have developed their activities on the basis of self-sufficiency and selling only their surplus. Nearly all have livestock, milk cows, garden, a few fruit trees, and their agricultural lands planted with supplementary food for livestock, alfalfa, oats, corn, and some sudan. For pasture, the Whites have purchased some lands, lease some, and just use some more- usually Indian lands.

"As on other reservations, but here possibly a great deal worse, trespass, checkerboarding and strong arm stealing is reputed to be in full sway.

"The isolation of the area has enabled such practices to develop and continue for many years. I do not doubt in the least, but have no proof, that such a White economy as there is here was established first by land-grabbing from Indian owners, then by a great deal of free pasturage on Indian owned range."

The historical proof has been presented above.

In the White social scheme, the Baptist and Methodist Churches and the Women's Improvement Club of Covelo are the centers, and anyone who does not participate in their activities

is suspect; one hears very negative comments about the few Catholics. So close are Church and State that school teachers are expected to teach in Sunday school. In the Club, the more prosperous women get together in a sort of caste system. The Church creates a holier-than-thou feeling, and the Baptists, especially, heap hell-fire and damnation on heretics. In relation to the Indians, it is said, White people keep up just enough show of friendliness to make "indian buck Indian for the benefit of the Whites."

In 1874 a citizen of Covelo, answering the charges that had already been leveled at the land speculators, wrote to a newspaper that he would speak for the "much-abused community," and Covelo still feels itself to be an injured community. There is special resentment against outsiders who show a sympathetic interest in the Indians. Doctors, social workers, Indian service officers, anthropologists, and the few residents whose interests are not bounded by the foothills, all find life in Covelo difficult. The feeling of the Townspeople is that these people are betraying Covelo and White society: They are "White people who go up to the reservation to agitate the Indians."

The number and variety of rationalizations for the way the Indians have been treated is surprising. Few White people will admit that the Indians have suffered. On the contrary, everything has been for their good. The mildest remark I heard on the subject was: "The Indians are all right - in their place. ... They wanted to sell the land, and it's not the White people's fault for wanting it. ... The Indians never did anything with the land anyway. ... They need mountain land, it's better than valley land for them. Let the government restock the mountains for them."

In the preliminary write-up of the current report (BIA, 1937), these personal impressions appear: "This little community is narrowness exemplified. The geographical setup was perfect for renegade Whites in the early days. The topography until very recently has barred outside interest or interference. The government has always been easy pickings and so have the Indians for anyone so inclined. ... The Whites have not only gained the best and upper hand, but will resent any sort of interference with their locally developed social or economic code. As I was born in, and spent many years in other similar small communities, it is easy for me to understand the depth of feeling, the lengths to which these people will go, and the methods they will use in maintaining their bigoted little kingdom.

"They oppose Indians' doing WPA or other relief work as it upsets their old labor system as well as raising the scale of wages. It also spoils their grip on the situation.

"They oppose expansion of Indian farming as it knocks them out of cheap leasing and would force the local market down; the market is limited in this valley, and no mistake.

"They would not like to have the Indians' pasture fenced and manned by rangers as the price of lease would go up. This action might even break some of the larger operators.

"In fact I believe they would oppose anything for the Indians that they could not control thoroughly and possibly make a little out of in some way or other.

"The act of 1934 stopped these Whites from finishing what they started, and the Indians still have a foothold that should be maintained or else it will be back in the mountains for them in a very short while."

Direct interference in Indian affairs occurs, especially in the school, which is a regular state elementary school covering a territory in which some Whites now live. White votes influence the election of trustees, Whites sell wood to the school, Whites drive the buses, etc. However, where funding is concerned, the reservation school suffers in comparison with the town (White) school.

A less direct, but more dangerous interference by Whites is the creation of opinions among the Indians which may be objectively harmful to them. Recently, this has taken the form of telling the Indians that the Reorganization Act will make them wards of the government, "You're just as good as anyone else. You can go anywhere, buy anything."

Population Trends

It is difficult to get a clear idea of the native population on the Round Valley Reservation because of much moving around, and the fact that some 300 work out of the valley and come home irregularly. About 400 are permanently within a twenty-mile radius. The most recent Indian Office census lists 839, of all degrees of blood. On the whole, the figures since 1900 rise rapidly, but much of this may be due to the return to the valley after patents for the land were issued, of Indians who had left, married, had families elsewhere, and brought them back to share in an inheritance. In 1918 there were 641 Indians listed; in 1925, 830.

There are no vital statistics since 1914, but the death rate is high. Every year there is a flu and pneumonia epidemic on the reservation. There were eleven deaths between July, 1937, and March, 1938: two infants, one old man (stroke), three women (two of intestinal disorders, one abortion), one case of tuberculosis; four pneumonia.

There are no statistics for births, but the county nurse says that although there is much sterility among rancheria Indians, Covelo Indians are rather fertile - several women have large families. There were two births between July and November, and three or four are expected soon (March, 1938).

Racial and tribal mixture has gone on to such an extent that it is impossible to establish the actual amount of White blood or Indian blood. Of 378 individuals, the census shows the following distributions:

Full blood	78
7/8	22
3/4	57
5/8	13
9/16	9
1/2	122
3/8	19
1/4	32
3/16	9
1/16	1
1/32	9
0 (White)	7
	378

"Even these figures are by no means correct; ... a drop of a quarter in each category would be much nearer correct," the survey states.

Health conditions, obviously, are bad. There is a government doctor in the valley to treat non-citizens without charge. He is paid by the government, about $125.00 a month. He is there, usually, as the only resident physician for White patients, too. However, there are intervals of several months between the time one physician, disgusted with having to treat the Whites practically free of charge (one is said to have been almost literally starved out, his White patients refusing even to pay him in chickens or garden produce), leaves, and a successor can be prevailed upon to replace him. The nearest hospital is in Willits, about forty miles away over the mountain roads. This, and the Ukiah hospital, are understaffed, overcrowded, and have records of losing patients. A non-ward Indian, who will probably not have enough money to recover in

the hospital, might as well spare himself the two trips. The result is usually the same anyway. The Indians are subject especially to respiratory infections, and to diseases for which there is no specific, since their resistance is low. There is a considerable amount of tuberculosis in a valley where the Whites have little and the cattle almost none. Syphilis is politely called tuberculosis. However, the Indians have less venereal disease than Whites of the same economic class according to the county nurse, and the greatest incidence of gonorrhea is at hop-picking time, when Indians are in close contact with poor Whites. There is no resident dentist. A visiting dentist from Petaluma extracts teeth for the Indians without anesthetic: One man had eight extractions at one sitting.

Economic Conditions

There is some independent economic activity on the part of Indians; there was probably more before the patents were given for the land, and still more before the allotments. However, leasing has been going on since the beginning of the century, and few Indians work their own land. The allotments (ten acres of valley land and fifty of mountain, or five and sixty, or none and seventy) were not economic units. Estimates are that twenty acres of valley land would keep someone "if he knew how to take care of it," and twenty acres of mountain land will support one animal. The Indian Office estimates that twenty-five acres is a workable unit.

There have been several causes for the lack of farming. The initial success in training and "civilizing" the Indians is mostly on paper. Afterwards, some Indians learned to farm by working for Whites, and some used their allotments. As a rule, however, the smallness of the plots, the difficulty of getting teams, machinery or credit, and the heirship tangles, made it simpler to lease the land. The only Indians who were trained to farm were those who went to school at Riverside, California, where they were taught citrus farming, useless here. It seems hardly necessary to invoke Indian background as an explanation, except that Indians had no psychological need to accumulate property, and certainly no motive was given them strong enough to survive in the face of the obstacles. The Indians have never acquired the feeling, which many Whites have, that heavy manual labor is the most important thing in life. It is impossible to be sure that the Indians would have accepted agriculture wholeheartedly had there been no barriers, but it is reported that Pomo women learned to garden very early, sitting on the ground and softening the earth with their hands, a method which was long and laborious, but gave excellent

results. By now, most houses in Round Valley have at least small gardens.

After the patents were issued, the land was lost "like snow melting off the mountain. The Whites got it by default, through frauds, and straight business deals." It seems to have been a policy of the Whites to avoid buying outright if they could possibly help it. It was preferable to involve an Indian in debt. Recently, the Reorganization Act prevents sale. At present the same disabilities operate against the Indians as in the past; no credit, no terms; even if the land were worked, the value of garden-produce in town (due partly at least to price-fixing) is so low that it is not worthwhile to carry it in.

Ninety percent of Indian-owned land is leased, at good rates. However, leasing has been pretty well controlled by the Whites, who agree among themselves in advance on the bidding, and who are reportedly unhappy with the present alert Indian administration.

Many Indians are excellent cattlemen. They worked as vaqueros, shepherds, and sheep-shearers in the earliest contacts, and there was a herd of individually owned animals grazing on the tribal land until one of the agents sold it. A member of the Soil Conservation Service who worked with the recent survey group, writes, "The range allotments have had about the same history as the valley allotments. In other words, a majority of them have been sold so that there no longer exists any continuous stretch of range land. This has made it impossible to control grazing on the Indian lands. Many of the Indians sold their mountain allotments because they could make no use of them, or because the Whites virtually ran them off their own property. The present situation is that the Indian range land is being continually trespassed upon by White cattlemen."

After the land started to be sold, White neighbors made it difficult for Indians to garden or to keep cattle. One Indian explained that once he tried to raise turkeys and stock, but his neighbor refused to fix the fence - laughed when his stock got into the Indian's land, but waited for him to get home from work in the evening to complain when the reverse happened. "This is my home. I want to live here peaceable," so he gave up his stock, and now owns just three horses and some chickens. "White people are friends of the Indians only when they have nothing."

The survey summary continues: "Quite a few subsistence gardens are grown here, and a number of families have

chickens, pigs, and a few head of livestock. Several farm their own places and three families even lease other Indian land for agricultural purposes. Even our investigators were able to find $3,341.00 income last year from the sale of farm produce. Livestock brought in $1,173.27 and probably triple that, not counting those butchered and consumed at home. ... The Indian often sells a cow, sheep, or pig when he needs a little cash. The local people buy these at about one-half the market price outside of the valley; the same principle holds for the sale of hay, and the Whites often sell it back at twice the purchase price." The wife of a White cattleman judged the selling price to be about one quarter of the value. Poor Whites suffer like the Indians because they cannot sell in large enough quantities to ship cattle out of the valley or have feed sent in. All goods are very expensive when bought in small quantities. The local butcher pays almost nothing for meat but sells it high.

The Indians are sometimes cheated by White men who take pride in driving a shrewd bargain, or giving handfuls of change for an animal worth twice what they give. And it is said that if a White man does not succeed in fooling the Indian, he will boast that he did just the same.

The survey found an average cash income of $634.85 per subsistence group of 5.6 persons. This seems high, in view of the living conditions and the great number of families on relief. However, in 1934, the WPA and later old-age pensions, increased cash income. Lease money averages $20 per acre for pasturage and $2.16 per acre for valley land. No figure was established for the supplementary hunting and fishing which Whites and Indians do. There is a short hunting season. For this reason and because of the cost of a license, probably most hunting on the part of the Indians is illegal, though it is seldom punished.

About half of the income of Indians is from wages. They take wage-labor whenever they can get it, working on the hop-ranch in the valley, cutting and threshing hay on local ranches. "The usual practice is for the White farmer to plow the Indian's field for him in return for labor in hay-cutting season." As a rule, Indians are given the heaviest work, such as cutting wood, and those who have other skills seldom use them. Reportedly, Indians are paid less than Whites for the same labor. At fruit- and hop-picking, Indians are preferred labor. They are paid by the piece, and slow, "clean" pickers are valued. During the summer they follow the crops (hops, cherries, beans, grapes, pears, prunes). The whole family goes, making a social occasion of the camping, and school never opens before October when the children start coming back.

Labor is completely unorganized. There was an attempt of organizers to get into Ukiah, where many Covelo Indians work, with the result that vigilantes were called out. During hop-picking in Round Valley last summer for the first time the gates were closed at 8 p.m. though there was not an organizer for miles.

Credit was always a problem for the Indians. They used to be able to run up bills of from $75 to $100 for food and pay them off in the summer. Now only one store gives them credit to the extent of $10 a month. The Indians pay in hay, animals, etc. Only one farmer gives the Indians food in the winter. The Indians work for him at low wages and pay well for what he advances to them, but they "think he's it." Despite the current opinion that Indians are unreliable, there are some Indians who are given credit in preference to some Whites, and there is a rather common White custom of running up bills with no notion of ever paying them.

Living conditions vary, but the survey found about one third of the houses to be ramshackle shanties. About half have inadequate clothing and bedding. The houses are warmed with wood-stoves, often in a very dangerous condition, and the walls are lined with newspapers or cardboard. Some are very clean, some are dirty. There are big gentle dogs and families of skinny cats. Most families have a sewing-machine and big family portraits in heavy gilt frames, purchased after the land sales. The government has built a "rancheria" of houses with modern conveniences, but the Indians prefer houses on their own land and argue that living so close together breeds quarrels.

"Relief" or "welfare" for the Indians is opposed by Whites. Even one of the more sympathetic White women said they do not feel that the county should be responsible for Indians since "the government dumped them here." Before county funds were given, the Indians were dependent on charity from the churches, from the Women's Clubs of California, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, obtained through the efforts of this woman. The present county administration of "relief" is humane and unprejudiced, but works under a terrific case load of about 1300. Direct relief takes the form of clothing made by sewing projects, and food ("surplus commodities") bought from farmers. Ninety Indian families in the county were "on relief" last summer, fifty of them in Covelo. During the winter 90% of the Indians are on relief in one form or another. The Works Progress Administration does road repairing. Professional work earns a maximum of $60 a month. During the summer, work relief was closed during the harvest season at the request of White farmers.

The Indians are said to be apathetic and lazy, but no one could explain away their eagerness to work at wage labor. It is undoubtedly true that many spend money almost as fast as they earn it, mostly by drinking and driving around, but even this, though it may still express something of the old feeling that "Indians live every day," can be explained by the lack of self-respect and motivation, and the impossibility of achieving economic security. Added to this is the effect of long years of hardship and the tendency to trust the Government to take care of them. One hardworking woman remarked that the only way to get help is to be lazy and have a houseful of children. Even some of the young and intelligent Councilmen seem over-optimistic about what the Government can and will do for them.

There is a survey in progress to determine the feasibility of setting up a cooperative cattle venture for the Indians. It is understood that unless the Whites can be kept off, they will be bucking a stone wall. The 1934 survey (See above) pointed out: "It hardly seems justifiable for any stock endeavor to be pushed over for the Indians when there are so few of them and as the cost of fencing, purchasing, maintaining and supervising and breaking trespass would be immense. The Indians are half-way happy in their menial social condition and are satisfied with their economic subsistence as is, especially with the pensions coming in, so why start anything unless we can finish it for them? Otherwise the reaction will be on their heads and not ours. ... I would be the last to recommend a half-hearted rehabilitation program against such social and economic factors as they have to live with year in and year out." I question only the statement that the Indians are satisfied. Certainly none of those who are articulate give that impression.

The problem of getting the Indians united behind a program is something else. It is often remarked, without prompting, "They don't hang together here," or "Indian bucks Indian for the benefit of the Whites," and friendly White people describe the petty bickering that goes on over minor matters - such as who is to get the left-over sandwiches after a party - and the drinking and fighting even among the youngsters. Here again, though one might invoke the Indian pattern of constant suspicion and grudges to explain the situation, the present economic and social situation is at least a strong contributing cause, as is the example and influence of some Whites past and present on the Indians. The poolroom is regarded as the worst evil by the Councilmen who are trying to unite the Indians, because there the Whites treat Indians to drinks and convince them to oppose Reorganization.

Opposition to Reorganization also stems from the work of Frederick G. Collett, former minister of the Gospel, and leader

of the Indians of California, Inc. About 1920 a struggle started, perhaps due to the activities of Collett, to bring before the United States Court of Claims a suit by California Indians against the United States Government for the value of the goods and lands promised in the "lost Treaties." The progress of the legislation and of the suit for libel brought by Collett against Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for accusing Collett of forgery in his successful effort to have the Hupa and Klamath Indians reject Reorganization, can be found in Government publications (Senate, "Ruling in Order to Show Cause, 1937). Collett's is the only organization of Indians in this part of the State and, in his own words in a letter to his attorney, "It is an established fact that whenever I have presented anything to the Indians that required their financial support, they have gotten behind it to the fullest extent necessary." One of Collett's representatives, a Pentecostal preacher named Thompson, reported at a church meeting which I attended on a message from Collett. The message, for the most part, said, "Victory," and suggested collections. All but two or three of the Indians were asleep at the end of Thompson's impassioned appeal. Among other things Thompson urged that when the (Reorganization) bill is passed they should "Holler for per capita payment," and a member of the Indian service judges that sooner or later the settlement would probably take that form. Thompson and Collett are both good speakers and their influence seems to be strong among the older Indians. It may be true, as they claim, that Indians of California, Inc. was active in getting public education and citizenship for the Indians.

Social Organization

Family and Tribe

A family in Round Valley consists of parents, children, old relatives, and the illegitimate children of the girls. Some old people are taken care of, some are neglected. Illegitimate children are accepted with affection, and often the grandmother will bring up a child even though its mother is able to. Kin solidarity and obligations have been discussed as a survival of Indian custom. They were described by a White woman as still existing but, perhaps because I was there in the summer when so many were gone, I had little occasion to observe the patterns. One case, in which the rather close relatives of a boy about to be brought up on trial for disorderly conduct were discussing the brawl, showed that they were inclined to emphasize everything in the incident except the boy's guilt, not unlike Whites. An old, blind, half-White Concow spoke of a family as "his people" although they were distantly, if at all

related to him. They took him to town in their car, but, I observed, at his expense.

There is no clear division along tribal lines. The younger Indians are so mixed that there is no objective basis for it, but occasionally the old Concow vs. Yuki or Wailaki feeling crops up, especially Concow vs. Wailaki, based, it is said, on the Horse Canyon massacre (See Addendum 4B; Tassin, 1884, p. 7). One White observer says that "Whenever a good row is on, with a bottle thrown in, it's Wailaki against Concow same as ever." But friendships based on neighborliness frequently occur between these two tribes. A woman who has been married about fifteen years said that there was opposition in her Concow family because she married a Yuki, but none of the recent marriages received any comment on this score.

Techniques for Control of the Individual

Legal

The reservation comes under Federal law, but has no law-enforcement officers present. In Covelo, Indians are arrested for minor offenses and often receive harsher punishment than Whites for the same offense. Covelo, an unincorporated town, comes under county law, but the county seat is sixty miles away.

Among the Indians

On the reservation there is a minimum of control over the individual. The younger people, better educated, have been taught to be ashamed of the old people. Their over-indulgent grandparents (this has been given by Indians as an example of an old custom) may regret "White ways, educational ways," even, as one good Methodist does, call the valley "Sodom and Gomorrah," but there are no sanctions they can apply. For example, one girl of about twelve lives with her grandparents. They send her to town with money for food, and she may come back four days later, without the food. Another girl knows that her father is strict and would whip her if he knew that she smokes, drinks, and "lays around," so she lies to him. Even the Wailaki "chief" admits that when a girl, distantly related to him, comes for help, he "gives her a talking to, and a little money, not much." Another man complains that his grandson, spoiled by his grandmother and grandaunt "walks over me, too," but, meeting him in Ukiah, he gives the boy money and then goes home to wait for letters which never come.

White-Indian

The psychological domination of the Whites is as strong as the economic. Within at least the last twenty-five years there has been no need for the Whites to use force, although the history of the valley and the strength of present race feeling indicate that they are capable of it. On public occasions things seem friendly enough. Whites and Indians sit and ride together in the Rodeo, Whites attend Indian funerals, and sometimes point out Indians as their friends, saying, "Mrs. Johnson is the better type." However, outsiders often remark that Covelo is like the South, though not quite as bad.

On the social plane, there is no mingling: One of the quietest, best-spoken and cleanest of the Indian women has been in only three White houses in her life, as a servant; a group of little Indian boys who went to the Women's Improvement Club to give a puppet-show were carefully placed at a separate table; a high school trustee, saying that open discrimination on the part of a teacher against Indians would not be countenanced by him or by one other trustee, added that they would not express that opinion openly, and, "Of course we would not insist that the White children walk arm-in-arm with Indians." One wealthy woman remarked at a swimming party that the Indians ought to have a separate swimming hole.

This feeling affects formal relations as well: Preparing for a conference on health to which heads of clubs and school officials were invited, the principal of the Indian school had to battle with the high school principal who did not wish to send invitations to the proper officers on the reservation, though the school on the reservation is a regular state school.

One boy who lives some distance from the valley and attends the town elementary school was very noticeably more friendly and at ease with me than the two other Indian children, who are extremely shy and reserved. Clearly, they have no social experience with White people and expect only rebuffs. It has been suggested that children in most Indian tribes are shy of strangers, but it seems significant that Indian and White families who live in the mountains around Covelo are on the best of terms, visiting each other, etc., but as soon as they come down to Covelo, are at once "Indian" and "White." It suggests strongly that public opinion in Covelo is responsible for the shyness of Indians, young and old. Self-respect and self-confidence are lacking in young people, who are often truants from school, who have nothing to do with their time. Boys are more aloof than girls: on several occasions when I was with a family and conversation was general, a young man in the group would neither say a word, nor look in my direction.

It is mentioned by White people, friendly and unfriendly to the Indians, that a girl, especially if she is attractive, may have slight entrance to White social affairs - a boy, never. There are many alliances between White men and Indian girls, but never (and since gossip here is all-revealing) of an Indian man of any degree of blood with a White girl. One girl, an outsider, accompanied an Indian man to the valley this summer. She appears White and at first practically said so, but after a few days, started to insist that her mother was a Cherokee, and she had only been brought up by White people.

One mother pointed out proudly as something exceptional that her little girl was very friendly with White people, especially White men. Older people say in so many words that they are "afraid of having their feelings hurt." Indians have been barred from White dances in the valley; they know that they are much less hostilely received away from home. They usually do not address a White person first. A White woman told me that an Indian fellow working for her husband was in her house and she spoke to him, and then "he talked a blue streak."

A revealing incident occurred early in the summer. I was in a car with Indians when we ran out of gas near the house of a White family. We asked the girl of the house to drive us to town for gas, which she did. In town we happened to meet her mother, a sour-looking woman, who returned with us. As we returned to our car, my friend, a young girl, took all the change she had in her pocket and put it in the woman's hand without a word.

Along with the conscious feeling of superiority that White people express, there is an undercurrent of fear. The women often speak of "drunk Indians" as most carefully to be avoided, and observe that they sometimes break into White people's houses. Even when this happens there is never any report of theft or damage to property. Most significant is the fact that though Indians, when drunk, very often get into "cutting scrapes," they have almost never, since the early "wars" in this region, been known to attack a White person. Indeed there are only two cases known in Mendocino County - one, that of a bootlegger who suddenly refused to give whiskey to his Indian patrons; the other, that of a White man found in the Indian camp "fooling around with" an Indian girl.

We might suggest, with caution, that perhaps the resentment which many, if not most Indians feel against Whites, and which is blocked from overt expression, lies behind much of the hostility the Indians show to one another on slight provocation. Beside this there is, as has been mentioned frequently, deliberate creation by White men of discord on the reservation.

There are, of course, a few White people who treat the Indians decently and oppose the commonly held prejudice: One White boy consented to walk with an Indian girl, a very attractive and charming girl, at the high school commencement; one young woman (the only one who defies Round Valley conventions by smoking openly) in an argument with an older woman, burst out, "If I were an Indian I'd hate every White person in this valley."

It is very difficult to point to specifically "Indian" elements in these situations and it hardly seems necessary in most cases. The only common Indian reaction which has been pointed out by informants and which may be significant here, is the tendency to run away and sulk when thwarted. Even now, the reason given for a child's truancy from school is sometimes that the teacher insulted him. However, after such determined suppression for so many years there are few reactions that any people could make. They can only withdraw as most have done here, or become over-aggressive, as a few are. That the younger generation especially shrink from White people is not strange in view of the constant recital by White people and old Indians of their laziness, improvidence, and worthlessness. The school principal puts it sadly: "If only they could be brought to believe in themselves more."

Mores

Property attitudes have been discussed as retained elements of Indian culture in conflict with White standards. Some young Indians have accepted White property values and a few have succeeded in gaining economic independence.

Sex attitudes differ markedly from those of the Whites, although they share similar Church influences. There is no sex education. However, Indian women, especially, are said to have a lusty humor when they get together, which even sophisticated White women find embarrassing, and on the whole their attitude seems healthier than that of the Whites. White girls may remain virgins longer, but if pregnancy occurs a White girl will be taken on a "vacation" by her family or quickly married, whereas an Indian girl has her baby and is "just as proud." Indian girls are expected to sow wild oats.

Though there is no stigma attached to illegitimacy, older Indian women will point out that so-and-so is married, but so-and-so is just living with a man. Beyond this, legal marriage is not of great concern. The government recognizes joint residence as marriage, and until recently, when an old law was resurrected allowing a couple not minors and already living

together to be married without a license, marriage involved two trips to Ukiah, three days apart, at considerable expense. White Covelo is horrified if an Indian girl leaves her husband and spends the rest of her life with another man, or if she dispenses with legal marriage but stays with one man. There is a curious feeling, reported by a White observer, that children are closer to their mother than their father, and are spoken of as "Mary's boy," rather than by name or as someone's son or brother. Since there is no indication of this in reports of informants about the old days, it may be that this is due to the prevalence of illegitimacy. A full-blood woman said that her child, who obviously had White blood, was full-blood, "because you count blood through the mother." This may account for a weighting of census rolls toward the Indian side.

There is much gossip about sexual promiscuity, but young girls reply that the old women were just as bad in their day. However, the result of promiscuity is alarming. Girls of twelve and thirteen have babies, often of White fathers, but there is one accomplished Indian held responsible for the "ruin" of most of the girls. Old people are really indignant, however, only at the marriage of cousins, which was strictly prohibited in aboriginal times and, to a lesser extent, at the forwardness of some women.

In this, as in other life situations, personal freedom is at a maximum as it was in the old days, but there is no compact kin group to keep the individual in check by its disapproval, or by the need on his part to keep its support. I had little opportunity to watch the upbringing of children, and the two situations in which lack of control is most apparent (sexual promiscuity and truancy) are complicated by other factors. In any case, there is no overt discipline and the conviction that one can talk, but do nothing to interfere with others, is still very important among the Indians.

Foci of Interest

There are several interests shown by Indians though none is sufficiently absorbing or rewarding to deserve the implicatio of the word "focus." Excluded from town dances by the townspeople, and from the weekly movie "show" by its cost, the Indian have to find social activity on the reservation. The administration of the reservation school is making every effort to supply the need, with the cooperation of the county superintendent of schools. Dances and entertainments take place in the auditorium; a Women's Club whose membership, carefully cultivated, is now sizable, meets every week; boys are beginning

to drop in at the library and read for an hour or so. All this, however, is the work of a few people, regarded even by many of the Indians as "godless."

Social life is a function of the churches too, and a kind of awkward, unhappy social life goes on at the Methodist Church under the eye of the minister's wife. More attractive to Indians is the lively singing and dancing of the Pentecostal Church, which offers the incidents that supply food for gossip and the opportunity for young couples to meet. At revivals and fellowship meetings one finds food and people, and "something doing" all the time.

Personal interests beyond these are few and stereotyped. Many women are fine cooks, but they bring food for school parties only after much encouragement. Grass games (gambling with bones) practically stopped with the advent of Pentecostalism. Old folks read their Bibles. Young boys and girls ride around in dilapidated cars, fill the roads with empty beer tins and read True Story and True Romance. Even one old man commented on the reading: "Nowadays learn book business, certain kind of ideas. All they do is lay around and read those books. They buy those, and powder and paint. People a little younger than I are in the same condition. They should be doing something. Book-reading is a poor business if a man got anything to do. It's getting worse."

Supernaturalism

The Indian churches, whatever their shortcomings, seem nearer ideal Christianity than those in town, from the point of view of tolerance. Though its ministers may rant, the Indians hold no one's religion against him. Almost everyone attends services, often going to the Methodist Church in the morning and to the Pentecostal in the evening, or attending one when the other is not functioning. Most Indians, however, have been lost to Methodism. In 1874 the first missionary, who was also the agent, won souls by his kindness and because the Indians identified being Christian with having the promises of the government fulfilled. Defection was reported four years later (BIA, 1878). The church never quite succeeded in stopping grass games and Indian dances, or in making monogamy a habit. Old people who "didn't know A from B" went to church to be patted on the back and talk to people, but, as I had occasion to observe, slept through the sermon. The present minister concentrates his energy against the Pentecostal Church. Several old Concows and the more "White" set go to his services, but even they are not true to him. Some doubt

the theological superiority of Methodism. All agree that at the Methodist Church one "sits and goes to sleep."

The Pentecostal Church, on the other hand, has Indian preachers, was built by Indians, and is "the Indian Church." You "feel the presence." Seizure by the Holy Ghost is a trance experience not unlike the old pattern of obtaining supernatural power, the "talking in tongues" is described as sounding like the old ventriloqustic speech of the shamans, and curing involves dancing and singing by all present and the "laying on of hands" to drive the evil spirit out of the patient. The most ardent members are old Indians who used to be most active *in grass games*, especially a few strong individuals who obviously use the opportunity to exercise *leadership*. One of them, an elderly Yuki of rather unsavory reputation, had some differences with other members and experienced a vision in which a small voice told him to stay away from where he was not wanted, so he conducted separate meetings at his house all summer. Now he has returned to the fold. No one has been accused of simulating trances, but sometimes the trances are under the "wrong power," as in the case of one woman who liked the preacher and "kept falling in his direction," and another woman who struck someone against whom she bore a grudge. One visitor said that "many are baptized but few stick to it. The others meet snares and pitfalls and stumble." One man, too honest to join when he knows he cannot live up to the rules, says: "I see it's a pretty strict way of living. They're supposed to live up to it, but they don't." Reclamation of inveterate gamblers and drinkers is claimed by the Pentecostal Church while the chief attack of the Methodists against the Pentecostal Church is based on the criminal records of some of the leaders and a few members! There are temporary and permanent conversions and some who join "just to blind people to what they are."

A ninety-year-old Lassik woman who remembers a great deal about her people and their life, is a devout Pentecostalist. She and an old Yuki woman are said to be the best two members even if they "don't understand a word, but when the song starts, jump up and start to jig around." The Lassik woman may not be interested in sermons, but she has integrated the church into her life as few others have done. This is the story of her conversion: Her husband was ill, and the preacher came to pray for him, offering to pray for others present at the same time. The singing and praying cured her own headache and rheumatism. For a year she was a church member before she got the Holy Ghost. Then, at hop-picking, they called her to a "sing." The tent was full of people. She sat on a box. They sang "I know the Lord put a hand on me." "I tried to talk, to get up, and started to shake. Funny feeling. You know

everything but you can't move. I ain't afraid no more. It's like fire on top of your head. Some fall on the floor, but nobody touches them, they come to sense themselves. Sometimes it takes a little while to get over it, sometimes a long time. Once at the Dutchman's (a friend) I feel the power coming down on me. I sing, pray. I don't see nothing, don't hear nothing, no snake, no lizard. I never see nothing." The day after she gets the power, she feels "like a little girl again." She has a recurring dream in which her two daughters, long dead, hold up her arms and tell her God is coming down. She tells the "outside people, the ones who laugh when the power comes down on us," that He is coming the first time just to show himself, but the next time He will destroy the unbelievers and they will be swallowed up with earth and water. Then He comes, a nice-looking man with clothes like the ones in the picture in church, with black whiskers, pretty curly hair and black eyebrows, stepping down a ladder of black, red, white and blue clouds. She says to the people, "You talk brave, now look at him." His face is so shiny it hurts her eyes. Her daughters tell her to continue to go to church. "The outside people laugh when the power comes down, say you are crazy, but God hears it and says, "poor my children, I don't want them to laugh at them. I take my children with me, they be happy with me. Outside people I cover with dirt."

The similarity to the ghost dance religion is clear. A few old Indians find in the church a satisfying emotional experience and an outlet for their feelings against the Whites. Younger, more sophisticated people give logical and theological arguments for preferring this to other churches. They point out that the Methodist and Baptist Churches pat rich men on the back while this is "a church for the poor and oppressed." Some quote the Bible on the descent of the Holy Ghost, the "singing in the upper story," etc., and offer the conversions and cures as proof of the correctness of their return to the full gospel. A well read man adds that people say there is hypnotism used but "how can it be hypnotism when the people come out of the trance by themselves?" Further justification for belief in this and in other religions in Covelo and on the reservation, is the argument that recent events bear out the prophecy in the Bible that the world will come to an end: Armageddon approaches, there are strikes and wars, the Communists are teaching the people not to believe in heaven and the "Roosians" are turning churches into warehouses.

The BIA survey group considered the Indians "Methodists with a scattering of Pentecostalists," but my impression is that the Pentecostal Church has a stronger hold and many more adherents. The appeal of the merciful aspect of Jesus and the promise of reward in heaven are strengthened by the pride

engendered by the fact that the church leaders are Indian, and by the opportunities for social contacts. One of the men least affected by the emotional appeal said that "all the Indians go to church, good ones, bad ones, young ones, old ones. All those fools that used to start things. It's just as much fun there, that's why I go lots of times. They sing without thinking. That's why I say Pentecostal Church is for Indians."

Education

White education has reached many of the Indians, in the form of day-school and/or boarding-school. Of 158 individuals, 66% had been to public school, 23% to boarding-school, 1% to Round Valley High School; and 10% had no formal education.

The elementary school on the reservation reflects and creates problems. It is an additional elementary school that exists in a valley where there are none too many children for one school, because of the opposition of the Whites to co-education. With two schools expenses are doubled and the reservation school has to fight for support. School administration is hampered by county politics, although the present school superintendent is a young man sympathetic to Indian needs. Truancy, serious in all Indian communities, is decreasing here as a result of the long, uphill work of the teachers. The present curriculum includes woodworking, crafts and sports; the girls sew curtains for the school windows, children's drawings are on the walls. So difficult is it to overcome the Indian-White barrier, however, that the new teacher could not at first get boys to come even to a baseball club.

In the past parents did nothing to discourage truancy because, as the social worker points out, their own education was useless. Now, several express anxiety to have their children educated "so they can stand up to White people" but only one native woman is bold enough to send her children to the Covelo town school.

The high school is another sore point. It was built about three or four years ago with Indian funds which the principal's trip to Washington helped to make available. The Indian Office, knowing nothing apparently of the true situation, expected Indian children to go to the new high school instead of to Riverside or Carson schools, and now is surprised to find that only about a half dozen Indians attend high school. The rest drop out after the first year, because they are not made welcome and because the incidental expenses are too high for them. There is little checkup on absence of Indian children; one example: an Indian boy stayed away from school because he had

no shoes, and when he returned, the teacher, commenting on his absence, said it was all you could expect from Indians. The boy left school. A White woman remarked that the Indians "think they own the school and get ornery." As far as ability is concerned, those who have taught both Indians and White children see no difference. As a matter of fact, two Indian high school graduates are continuing their education while none of the Whites is.

Social Problems

There is much drinking, even by young boys. "It makes a poor man rich and a sick man stout." White men take money or a share of the liquor in return for getting it for several Indians, who contribute to a "jug." All present "drink from the bottle," trying to get as much as possible before the others do, and "pretty soon they's all drunk." Some Indian men say that when they are in a large city and not likely to be prevented from going to a bar, they take one drink and leave.

The girls too start to drink very early. My Lassik informant says that "girls don't help their mothers, just lay around and 'Oooops,'" (tipping up an imaginary bottle). Promiscuity is blamed in part on White men who treat the girls to drinks. (Sexual offenses with minors go unpunished when an Indian is the victim.) A social worker who started work some eight or nine months ago writes: "In my brief experience with Indians, I have not yet found a problem which I felt could rightfully be called an 'Indian problem.' They are all human problems - ones which could be matched case for case by White families." This need not be taken literally, since the history of Round Valley provides ample cause for present difficulties, but in the lives and attitudes of the young boys and girls on the reservation, I have detected few traces of Indian culture. The social worker attributes delinquency not only to the lack of social life and of anything interesting to do, but to the early physical maturity of the Indians, which she and the public health nurse judge to be about two years ahead of that of White children. Without further evidence, I hesitate to accept this as a biological fact, in view of the preponderance of White blood in the young population.

Young people of mixed blood are not a unique group. They share in every social maladjustment; in fact, they constitute a majority of the young "Indians." No one seems reluctant to discuss the degree of Indian blood anyone has, although White paternity of illegitimate children is seldom mentioned and there is, as has been said, a tendency to speak of "blood" as that of the mother. Some Indians are said to be anxious to

have their daughters marry White men. Others, such as two young women who expressed their opinion, insist that they would never consider marrying any but their "own kind."

Political Organization

The political organization in Round Valley consists of the council of eight, elected under the Reorganization Act which includes several well-educated young men. The Indian Office considers them competent and rational, but the Indians accuse them of favoritism in handling land matters, and concerned Whites cannot see that they have done much so far. They seem to underestimate the economic power of the Whites and overestimate the government's willingness and ability to set up a cooperative cattle enterprise. However, they are familiar with the way White political affairs run, and when a case came up in regard to the validity of the Reorganization Act in the Duck Valley reservation in Nevada some time ago, the council managed to have the Women's Club and the Interdenominational Church write to Collier, Commission of Indian Affairs, and their congressman to defend it. One councilman spoke of the $2,000,000 revolving fund as if it were surely going to buy back the whole valley for the Indians. Meanwhile the government has spent about $60,000 in conducting surveys and "chasing its tail," with the net result that one piece of property is held by the Indians. This they are hoping to turn into a home for the aged, but it is near town and everyone agrees, but for different reasons, that it should not have been bought. The council considers most of the Indians "in line," but opposition is audible. Even White people who wish the Indians well are aware of the unfulfilled promises of the government, and one Ukiah lawyer opposes the Indians' giving up their rancherias to the government on the grounds that the present administration has no guarantees that it will remain in office and the next may not be as careful of the Indians' welfare.

The Modern Individual

It is difficult to point to approved personality types, though one can observe disapproved personalities to which critical gossip is the clue. The most consistently disapproved person is a certain woman who is economically successful. The Whites resent her for her shrewdness and aggressiveness - she has hauled them into court, sometimes successfully. The Indians accuse her of getting land by fraud, and gossip constantly about her. However, this does not seem to bother her; she continues to work for the good of the other Indians, and has testified before several investigation committees. She

is boisterous in manner, always trying to get a laugh. White people say she can talk herself out of anything, and that she is too militant for her own good. She sends her children to the town school and her name never was mentioned in connection with the Pentecostal Church.

One intelligent old Wailaki man in his sixties, on the other hand, draws little gossip and appears to be well-liked by Indians. He has achieved a certain degree of adjustment by his ability to see the Whites clearly and thereby to keep his self-respect and independence of thought. He is the only person who answers charges of Indian misconduct by pointing out all the White men who drink and lie. As he told one of the Indian agents, "White men are just as big thieves as Indians." He ran away from school after third grade, going to live with an old Indian couple in the mountains. From them he learned many of the old ways, which he respects and many of which he follows. He has been an interpreter for various government officers and was anxious to have me learn his language and keep a record of the past, of which he is the youngest to know anything. He goes out of his way to be helpful, but none of the Indians followed the former agent in calling him the Wailaki chief. He is the only Indian who does not accept the missionaries completely. "When we're dead, we're dead, and the preachers don't know any more about hell-fire than we do. Must be trying to scare the people." He is not inclined to excuse Indians either if he thinks they are wrong. Though he does not often discuss individuals, he is rather annoyed by one man who emphasizes his physical disabilities to appeal for help from White people and prides himself on his earning power as an anthropological informant. As for the latter's vision which for a time split the Pentecostal Church, his succinct comment was: "Poppycock. He wasn't getting enough attention."

At his own word, he is "an old souse," and he tells how White men with whom he worked driving hogs to Ukiah long ago gave him whiskey and it became a habit. He never drinks when he is working, and never comes home drunk. He stays away until he has sobered up. There was whiskey on his breath only once during the summer, and he explained later, as was obvious at the time, that it was because he was "suffering around" so badly with toothaches. He lost three promising children and tries to forget about them. "Only fun I get is to go to town, get a little drunk." His great regret is that his very bright grandson is not going to college. The boy finished high school in three years but when everything was ready for him to go to Haskell to study automotive engineering he hid the papers because he could not bear to leave his wife, who deserts him periodically but always returns. Among the young girls who were in the valley for the summer were several who were conspicuously

"bad." One is a fifteen-year-old, usually sloppy in her dress, whose hair is dyed and waved and her brows plucked. She tries to conceal from her father her smoking and drinking, and spends every spare minute with True Stories. The richest boy on the reservation (a full-blood, jailed last summer for drunken driving) wanted to marry her, but when she used his car to drive around with another boy, the affair seemed to be off. The latest news from the valley is that she expects a baby. Like many promiscuous girls, she reputedly had a "wild" mother. She is sullen and boisterous by turns, and with me was alternately shy and over-familiar.

Two other girls of the "wild" group have a notorious family situation. Their mother was apparently happy in her marriage until a young fellow came along with whom she fell in love. She bore him four children, two of whom are living and still very young. Then her oldest daughter took the man away from her and she "cut loose." Her mother took the children and she, at last report, was living with a worthless man. The daughter spent the summer with her father, having promised never to see her stepfather again, but in the fall she was again driving his car, in which one morning she made love to him a few feet from where I was working.

There were two murders in recent years, both by jealous husbands. One of them killed the wife who was about to leave him through the influence of a famous shaman from Pit River, and committed suicide before the officers caught up with him.

Several girls who do not fit into this sordid picture are waiting for the chance to get out of the valley. The White father of one family is very strict with his daughters. The youngest girl is in the same grade as the girls described above, but she is two years younger and seems like a little girl. She and her older sister get up at four in the morning to start taking care of the horses and chickens and to cook before leaving for school. The oldest daughter left the valley as the bride of a Stanford graduate and went to live in Southern California. The others plan to go away to college themselves.

In another family, of mixed-blood parents, there are two very nice girls. One, recently married, teaches crafts at the reservation school. The other, miserable during her vacation because she had to stay in Round Valley where there is "nothing to do," works part-time and studies at the Extension Division of the University of California in Berkeley. I was unable to learn much about their background, though I saw them often, because they were very quiet, and because no one gossiped about them. The family seems to be more prosperous than most in spite of the father's heavy drinking. He raised horses until the

use of machinery made it unprofitable, and still acts as a guide to hunting and camping parties in the fall. His family works at fruit-picking and before school opened the older girl was cook for the farmhands on one of the ranches.

A third family, whom I did not know personally, has two girls. One, described as very bright, is working and studying in San Francisco, but her sister, dull and stolid, has settled down early to marriage and babies.

Maladjustments of personalities need hardly be explained in terms of being Indian except insofar as social and psychological oppression accompanies the economic.

It seems hardly necessary to repeat that there has been a pathetic lack of cultural integration among the Indians in Round Valley. Their culture was destroyed by social and economic forces which they were totally unprepared to resist and in which they were prevented, despite their apparent willingness, from participating by groups of Whites to whose interest it was to keep them in an inferior position. Round Valley natives are described by employees of the Indian Service as "a few old Indians and the rest disgruntled Whites." Poverty has prevented their keeping up much formal social life among themselves until rather recently when the Pentecostal Church and the reservation school began to offer possibilities. The school is a progressive force in the community.

Opposition of the Whites is as strong as ever, they continue to divide the Indians. If there is anything which would mark this group as Indian to anyone unacquainted with their background, I have been unable in one summer to discover it. Everything in the present scene which might be referred to aboriginal times can as easily, or more easily, be explained by a combination of historical forces in which the aboriginal situation played only a small predisposing part.

The basic economic problem might be attacked in several ways, one of which is the contemplated government action in setting up a cattle, or a combination cattle and farming venture. The difficulties in the way are apparent. It seems likely that the conditions of the Indians will improve only with those of other agricultural workers in California.

EDITOR'S SUMMARY

ROUND VALLEY ACCULTURATION

Although the treatment of American Indians by the Whites has generally been bad, the Round Valley situation finds no close parallels among the other studies included in this volume. It is unique in the complete domination of the Indian by the White group, the speed with which this domination was achieved, and the frankness and the thoroughness of White exploitation. The White attitudes disclosed here are, perhaps, not unlike those held by pioneers in their dealings with Indians elsewhere, but their persistence down to the present and their combination with absolute power over the Indians are both unusual, making them a significant factor in the present study. On the Indian side unique features are provided by the lack of well-developed war patterns, which did much to make overt resistance impossible, and by the lack of tribal solidarity even in aboriginal times.

The case must be construed as primarily one of directed acculturation, although the direction was almost entirely of the negative sort. Any native culture pattern which appeared objectionable to the Whites was suppressed. This, coupled with the profound changes produced in the local ecology by the activities of the Whites, eliminated overt expression of most of the aboriginal culture. At the same time, no real attempt seems to have been made to impose any patterns of White culture except those of peonage, while Indian attempts to adapt to the new conditions by taking over White techniques such as farming or crafts were systematically discouraged. The place of the Indian in the combined Indian-White community was designated almost entirely by the White and was at the very bottom of the social and economic scale. The function of the Indian, in the eyes of the dominant group, was to provide cheap and docile labor and any attempt to depart from this role was punished by the expropriation of the Indian's property even if there were no more forcible measures. The Indian was to be a slave without even the security which a chattel slave might derive from his value as property.

If the Round Valley tribes had resisted this treatment they would probably have been exterminated during the first few years of contact. As it was, the tribal organization seems to have been dissipated by the first violent contact. Tribes as functional units seem to have broken almost at once, while as cultural and linguistic units they survived little beyond the lifetimes of those reared under the old conditions. However, the very lack of tribal coherence and

sentiments of solidarity probably made for individual survival. The people who composed the tribe were able to react to the new situation as individuals, making such diverse adjustments as they could. In this they were not hampered by any feeling of loyalty to the group or even to fellow tribesmen beyond the limits of family relationship. Their acculturation was, therefore, in individual terms and in widely varying degrees. In this they seem to have resembled a slave group of heterogeneous origin rather than a tribal group.

Everything seems to indicate an admiration of White culture on the part of the Indians and a complete willingness to accept it and to become absorbed into White society. That they have not been absorbed is probably due to White resistance rather than their own will. The constant affairs of Indian girls with White men and the tendency for young Indians to leave the community and go to regions where there is no prejudice against them both point in this direction. Such behavior contrasts sharply with that of persons in a self-conscious, well-integrated society like that of the Fox. The younger generation seem to have accepted the culture patterns of the Whites at the same economic level in toto, and their complete absorption into the American population is probably only a matter of time and opportunity.

ADDENDA

1. Treaties
2. Slavery and Indenture
3. Round Valley Reserved
4. "Wars" and "Massacres"
   - A. Clear Lake
   - B. Round Valley (1858-63)
   - C. Eden Valley and Eel River
   - D. Potter Valley (Bloody Rock)
   - E. Mendocino War
5. Reservation System
6. Indian Schools
7. Settlers

1. Treaties

A. "The Lost Treaties" - Report of E. F. Beale, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the State of California, May 11, 1852, to Honorable L. Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington City, D. C.

....as to the merits of the treaties I state that in regard to the general line of policy pursued by the commisioners and agents in negotiating with the Indians as proper and expedient under the circumstances. My own personal knowledge and experience on Indian affairs, and particularly in reference to the tribes within the State of California, incline me to the opinion that to secure their peace and friendship no other course of policy, however studied and labored it may have been, could have so readily and effectually secured the objects in view. My experience in Indian affairs has also convinced me of the fact that those who best understand the Indian character are exceedingly cautious and deliberate in their negotiations with them, and that precipitate counsels are invariably the results of ignorance, and generally terminate deplorably to both parties. The Indian by nature is suspicious and though easily governed when his confidence has been obtained, it becomes almost impossible to treat with him after his suspicions have been aroused.

The system of reservations as adopted in these treaties, is but the natural result and consequence of the policy pursued throughout and may be stated to involve two important considerations, vix. whether the Indians are to have any lands set apart for them and if so, whether those already selected for them may be justly considered as suitable and appropriate. Humanity and justice alike urge acquiescence in the former, while the following considerations suggest themselves to our attention in connection with the subject. It is evident that if allowed to roam at pleasure, their early extinction is inevitable, and I am slow to believe that the Government, recognizing, as it does, their possessory rights to all the soil inhabited by them, would deny them the occupancy of a small portion of the vast country from which such extraordinary benefits are in progress of receipt.....

With reference to the expediency of ratifying or rejecting the treaties, in my opinion it would be unwise and injudicious in the extreme to reject them, even should it be deemed expedient and necessary hereafter, without previously preparing the minds of the Indians for such an event, and the offering, at once, of some suitable and proper substitute (BIA, 1852).

B. Report of E. F. Beale respecting the condition of Indian Affirs in California.

... I premise, what is well known to you, that our laws and policies ... have been neglected or violated in that state; that they are driven from their homes and deprived of their hunting grounds and fishing waters at the discretion of the whites; and when they come back to these grounds and waters to get the means of subsistence, and also when they take cattle and stock from the inhabitants for food, they are often killed, thus giving rise to retaliation and to wars; and in this war a state of things exists there which is not known in other parts of the U.S., where the Indian intercourse laws are enforced by the government and Indian territorial possession is protected by the government. This anomalous state of things is necessary to be remembered in order to understand the operations of the superintendent and of the agents in that country.....

To remedy this state of things and to secure to the Indians some resting place and supply them with some food, and make some compensation for the country taken from them, the established policy of making treaties with them was adopted by the government, and several treaties made, all of which were rejected; so that now the Indians remain without practical protection from law or treaties and the government officers have to do the best they can to save them from death by massacre or starvation. For that purpose the rejected treaties stipulated for "reserves" for the Indians to live upon, and for supplies of food, and a part of the food, in the form of beef cattle was immediately contracted for, and in some part delivered; but in some of these deliveries great irregularities occurred..... (Senate Documents, 1853, Second Session, 32nd Congress, Volume 7, p. 1)

C. Thomas Henley, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, to G. W. Mannypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dept. of Interior.

"in conducting the affairs of this superintendency, I have rejected entirely the idea of making treaties with the Indians or recognizing, in any way, the rights which they claim to the soil.

The Indians in every portion of the state have already been made acquainted with the policy proposed by the government in regard to them, and are everywhere highly pleased with it, except in locations where malicious or interested white persons have, by false representation, prejudiced them against it. A few persons of this class in the various localities have been the cause of most of the Indian difficulties which have occurred in this state. The Indians are generally peaceable and well

disposed toward their white neighbors; and in almost all cases where they have been guilty of aggression, it has been to avenge some outrage committed upon them by the class of persons in question.

.....the mass of the white settlers of this state have uniformly treated the Indians with the greatest possible kindness; giving them protection and advice, and frequently contributing of their scanty means to relieve their pressing wants, and save them from actual starvation. The outrages upon the Indians, which have been, I regret to say, of frequent occurrence, have emanated from a few lawless and desperate men, for whose conduct the masses should in no way be held responsible" (BIA, 1856, p. 795). (Compare Henley's words with Henley's actions, which he obviously did not regard as "lawless and desperate." See Addendum 4C below, especially Lt. Dillon's letter of 4/2/59 and Capt. Johnson's letter of 8/21/59.)

D. Report of Indian Commissioners, 1920

The hearings of the Congressional Indian Committees on the California Indians shows pity but no recognition of the legal debt of millions of dollars due to Senate refusal to ratify treaties made in 1851-2.....

If gold had not been discovered in California in 1849, it is almost certain that the Indians of the state today would be extensive land owners and land users, for it seems to be accepted that it was the influence of the Forty-niners which prevented ratification of the treaties which the Government commission made with the Indians in 1851-52. The land was made public domain, later turned over to whites.

401 Indian Chiefs, Captains and Headmen of 119 tribes, bands and nations signed 18 treaties, with US Army Officers as witnesses. They were read in the Senate on June 7, 1852, and, "with the attached documents, referred to the commission of Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate." On July 8, it was "resolved that the Senate do not advise and consent" by 38 negative votes (Senate Document pp. 417-419). On Jan. 18, 1905, 53 years later, the injunction of secrecy was removed and the next day 50 copies of the treaties were ordered reprinted for the use of the Senate.

While these unratified treaties lay forgotten by all but the Indians in the secret archives of the Congress, all but 517,118 acres of the several million acres which the Government treaty commisioners told the Indians would be set apart for the sole use and occupancy of the Indians were acquired by the white people of California. The records of the middle decade of the

last century, which tell the story of the decline of the California Indians, do not make pleasant reading, for they chronicle the atrocious happenings, massacres, murders, heartless evictions, and brutal treatment of an inoffensive people who happened to be in the way of the adventurous, determined gold seekers from all parts of the US who rushed to California by the tens of thousands in 1849.....

It is worthy to note that the two most important areas of land which have been set apart for the Indians and are now held, in trust, for them by the United States, are the Hoopa Valley and Round Valley Reservations in the northwestern part of the state. These reservations were established for the purpose of corralling prisoners of war, Indians who, driven to desperation by the cruelties and aggressions of the white intruders, dared to fight and so today own the land. The Government practically ratified the treaties made with the Indians who resisted.

On the other hand, Indians who peacefully trusted the Great Government which made treaties with them in good faith, they believed, and as their descendants still believe, quietly moved into the restricted areas carrying out their treaty stipulations only to be driven away, evicted from their homes, driven from pillar to post and scattered apart until today most of the names of the tribes and villages are lost. These are the landless or nonreservation Indians of California made so apparently because they did not fight the great white people who had taken their lands from them.....they were promised horses, mules, plows, clothing ... white farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters and others to teach them useful handicrafts; also school teachers "to live among and work for and teach said tribes and such others as they may be required to work for and teach so long as the President of the United States should deem advisable."

They are uneducated, illiterate, and ignorant of white men's ways although they have been living among white people for generations. But, more than all else they have for generations been treated by their white neighbors as an inferior people and have been accepting this appraisement quite as a matter of course, and yet they are a self-supporting people, they get their own living by the work of their own hands. But it seems they must work for others....with few exceptions, they are seasonal or casual work people...most of them are idle during the winter months...they migrate to the hopfields, vineyards, the prune, apricot and other orchards, to the citrus groves, ranch and rice field. When the salmon are running those in the north work in the salmon fisheries and canneries.

During the harvest time many Indians are found in the factories where vegetables, fruit, olives, etc., are canned. A large number of them find employment in the sawmills, on the surface of mines, in logging camps, and on railroads and public roads. During sheep shearing these Indians are in demand and many of them are shepherds for white men. They herd cattle, milk cows and do general farm work. The women who live near cities and towns go out by the day as domestics and laundresses....during the earning season the Indians take their families with them ....The Indian villages are deserted by all save a few of the old folk who stay at home as caretakers.

Indian labor, generally, is preferred by white employers of the State. The Indians are regarded as faithful, honest and fairly reliable work people. It is true that they will knock off work for what seems to their employers to be trivial reasons, and sometimes their social gatherings, fiestas, and religious demands interrupt important labor at critical times, but as a rule the Indians work without requiring watching and carry out their contracts and orders.

Nonresident Indians include "landless" Indians who live on government owned ranches, where they have undisturbed possession as long as they occupy and cultivate, and land-owning Indians who having allotments which are worthless to them, practically are "landless." The rancherias are especially in Mendocino, Lake, and Sonoma Counties. Most of the allotted nonreservation Indians are in the north of the state (BIA, 1920, pp. 39-60).

2. Slavery and Indenture

A. 1853 - Senate Document 57, 2nd Session 32nd Congress Vol. 7 p. 1ff Report of E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California

.....I give an instance of this new mode of oppressing the Indians, of catching them like cattle and making them work, and turning them out to starve and die when the work season is over. It relates to a scene of which there are many instances, and the knowledge of which, coming to me from report, I sent out a reliable person to attend to the case:

Letter to Beale from J. H. Jenkins, San Francisco, Jan. 13, 1853. "These Indians were brought into this county (San Pablo in Contra Costa County) from some place near Clear Lake, by Californians.....who have for some time made it a business of catching them, and in various ways disposing of them, and I have

been informed that many Indians have been murdered in these expeditions. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall, and as winter set in were broken down by hunger and labor, without food or clothes, they were turned adrift to shift for themselves as best they could.....I am happy to inform you that even when starving, and surrounded with horses and cattle, yet I heard no complaint of their stealing. These people could easily be made to support themselves. These Indians were offered by their captors to the farmers in the neighborhood for hire at a dollar a day; but that price was considered too high for beings so low in flesh, and rather than lower the price they were allowed to starve as reported. It is a common practice, and I know it to be such, to catch Indian children when they are out gathering acorns, and take them and hold them as slaves. Not two months ago I was implored to restore some who had been taken from the Yo-kei tribe in this way (BIA, 1853).

B. 1854 - Report of H. L. Ford to Henley, Sept. 7, 1854, attached to report of Henley, Supt. California to Mannypenny, and included in Annual Report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856. (Walter Goldschmidt had copy, courtesy of W. H. Woodson, quoted in manuscript on Nomlacki.)

"I had a talk with the Nome Lacke Indians, during which I learned that the tribe was now reduced to less than three hundred but all that was left would if an establishment was made come in and work with goodwill....that a party of Mexicans had been for the last six months roving through their country, that whenever their women and children ventured out to gather seeds, they attacked them.....This I found corroborated by some settlers of the valley, who informed me that a short time ago a party of Mexicans came to Colusa, having with them some fifteen or twenty children including both sexes, which they were taking below to sell" (BIA, 1854).

C. 1856 - Report of July 3, 1856, from E. A. Stevenson at Nome Lacke Reserve to Henley, Supt. IA San Francisco.

"Of the Indians residing in this neighborhood, a large number are on the ranches or farms of private individuals, who are using them as working hands, and who seem to have adopted the principle that they (the Indians) belong to them as much as an African slave belongs to his master and that they have the right to control them entirely. Many of these Indians have left their places and come to the reservation and have been followed and demanded by persons claiming them as private property. This system of slavery is, in my opinion, far more objectionable than that which exists in any other country, as the Indians claim to be the rightful owners of the soil" (BIA, 1856).

D. 1861 - Wm. P. Dole to C. B. Smith, Secy Interior Nov. 21, 1861.

Under a law recently passed by the state legislature, large numbers of Indians have been nominally "indentured" for long terms to white masters. This "indenturing", if my information as to the character or the law and its practical operation is correct, is but another name for enslaving those who are so unfortunate as to become its objects, since, by its operation, Indians of any age under thirty and of either sex, without their consent, or if they be minors, that of their parents, are "indentured" to white masters, who thereupon become entitled to the "care, control, custody, and earnings" of those thus "indentured" whom, in consideration thereof, they undertake to "feed, clothe, care for, and protect," but no security is required that this undertaking shall be performed and neither are any penalties prescribed for its violation. A law like this is subject to enormous and outrageous abuses, and may be made the means by which the most wicked oppression may be perpetrated (BIA, 1861).

E. George M. Hanson, Superintending Agent of Indian Affairs, Northern District of California, to Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, BIA Annual Report, 1862, pp. 310-312, Dec. 31, 18_2.

In the month of October last, I apprehended three kidnappers, about 14 miles from the city of Marysville, who had nine Indians, from three to ten years of age, which they had taken from the Eel River in Humboldt County. One of the three was discharged on a writ of habeas corpus, upon the testimony of the other two that "he was not interested in the matter of taking the children;" after his discharge, the other two made an effort to get clear by introducing the third party as a witness, who testified that "it was an act of charity on the part of the two to hunt up the children and then provide homes for them, because their parents had been killed and the children would have perished with hunger." My counsel inquired "How he knew their parents had been killed?" "Because," said he, I killed some of them myself."....Suffice it to say that I found good homes for the children, who are now doing well, and their kidnappers each were placed under five hundred dollars bonds to appear and answer.

The fact is, kidnapping Indians has become quite a business of profit, and I have no doubt is at the foundation of the so-called Indian wars. To counteract this unholy traffic in human blood and souls, I have appointed a number of special agents in the country through which the kidnappers pass when carrying the Indians to market in the settlements, with instructions to watch for them, and thus, I think, that a temporary check has been put to their commerce.

I shall make an effort this winter, in a memorial to the State legislature, to have the law repealed authorizing the indenturing of Indians, under cover of which all this trouble exists (BIA, 1862).

3. Round Valley Reserved

1854

On the morning of May 15, 1854, Frank M. Asbill went up the mountainside in search of the horses, and a wonderfully beautiful valley met his gaze, upon which probably, no white man's eye had ever rested before. ****It was given the name of Round Valley by the party from Mr. Asbill's description of it (Palmer, 1880, p. 595).

1856

In 1856 the Indian farm was established at None (Nome) Come or Round Valley. It is estimated that there wer upwards of five thousand Indians in Mendocino county at that time, and that three thousand of them were subject to the Round Valley farm******. While this Round Valley section was a farm only it was used as a stock range principally*****. In 1858 the Round Valley farm was changed into a regular reservation, whih contained about 25,000 acres. April 14, 1868, it was ordered that the reservation should extend to the summit of the surrounding mountains. March 30, 1870, the land embraced in the above boundaries was set apart by a proclamation of the President of the United States for reservation purpose. Mare 31, 1873, an act was passed by Congress setting all lands formerly embraced in the reservation south of the line betwen township twenty two and twenty three to the public domain, and extending the reservation north to the hills with certain boundaries, as follows: The line between to nships twenty two and twenty three being the southern boundary; main Eel River being the western boundary; Eel River being the northern boundary; Hull's Creek, William's Creek and middle Eel River being the eastern boundary, containing one hundred and two thousand, one hundred and eighteen and nineteen hundredths aq (Palmer, 1880, p. 171.)

Date of original reservation

There is some argument about whether 1858 or 1860 was the exact date that the land was reserved. Settlers argued that latter was correct, but contradictory evidence is implied in the petition from the settlers that was forwarded by then

Superintendent Thomas Henley to the commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1858, asking that the land not be reserved. (See also below, under date of 11/18/58.) (Harrison, Michael- Chronological History of Round Valley: typed mss. given me by the Sacramento Indian Office, 1937. A.S.)

1858 - Henley to Mix, Sept. 4, 1858

.....Nome Cult....as good, if not the best, location, for the purposes of a reservation yet selected. The valley which has been heretofore described containing upwards of 20,000 acres and surrounded by rolling hills of fine grazing, and abounding in various descriptions of Indian food, would probably subsist more Indians than any place of the same extent which can be found in the State. It is also isolated from other agricultural lands and is incapable of white settlement. (My underline A.S.) .....the settlers in the valley have all made their improvements with the knowledge of the fact that a recommendation had been made for its occupancy for Indian purposes...about 20 settlers ...and (it would cost) about $15,000. for the claims, which is not more than the actual value for the improvements, all of which are substantial and would be needed for the government. But the problem as to whether the Indian is capable of, or will be benefited ultimately by civilization, or whether he was intended by the "Great Spirit" for any other than the wild and savage life in which our ancestors found him, remains yet unsolved (BIA, 1858, p. 283).

Nov. 18, 1858 - Superintendent Henley directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by order of the Secretary of the Interior to notify all concerned that the entire valley was set apart and reserved for Indian purposes (It is claimed that this notice was not posted until 1860.) (BIA, 1858).

Jan. 28, 1859 - Henley transmitted to the Commission a petition by Round Valley settler protesting the reservation (BIA, 1859).

1861 - G. M. Hanson, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Northern District of California to W. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Yuba City, July 15, 1861.

Re: Nome Lackee

.....parties took possession of the land, saying that they did it under the sanction of Henley. Got indentured servants of most able-bodied men; enclosed list of the men and the judge under whom this was consummated....

Round Valley...

60 miles north of Mendocino, high mountains, 19 thousand acres of well watered land, 2/3 of which yields a rich reward, the timber ample for all purposes and all time.

Henley had given permission to settle, there were 20 to 25 farms of more than a thousand acres, enclosed and cultivated mainly by Indian labor. About 50 white men and 3 white women, improvements worth some $50,000. surveying going on of most land in the valley, with a view to taking them as "swamp and overflowed land" (under California law. A.S.).

The stock of the whites overruns the valley. If a few cattle or sheep are missing (which easily happens with such herdings as they have) the Indians are accused of stealing as a matter of course, and are treated with violence. A very large number of the whites are unmarried men, who constantly excite the Indians to jealousy and revenge by taking their squaws from them. In a word, it will be impossible to govern and inform the Indians unless these white inhabitants can be altogether removed from the valley. The present settlers express a willingness to remove on condition that the government pay for their improvements.

The Indians who remain on the reservations appear to labor cheerfully with almost no want but food, clothing and tobacco; they are easily controlled and on removal from associations with vicious white men, they are capable of rapid and permanent improvement (BIA, 1861).

1862

1) Letter Jan. 10, 1862, Henley to Sen. M. S. Latham.

.....suggests selling Nome Lackee and Mendocino. His sons live there, and "have ranches and stock, the Indians kill their cattle and there is no remedy but to kill the Indians.....as long as there are any Indians left, they will steal cattle..... I will give you my word that I would rather they would take half the cost of their improvements than remain there, to go through the usual routine of losing cattle and killing Indians" (Goldschmidt, Nomlaki Ethnography, unpublished in 1937, A.S.).

2) Hanson, Superintendent State of California, to Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mar. 31, 1862.

"continual and additional trespasses committed by the settlers on the Nome Cult or Round Valley reservation Mendocino County, rendering it beyond a doubt that something must be done

immediately either by law or military force, in order to prevent the settlers from entirely breaking up one of the best Indian reservations in California.....nearly all of the best pasture lands in the valley, the most of which the government has under fence, has been entered upon by settlers, surveyed and purchased by them from the State as "swamp and overflowed lands," thereby destroying the best pasture, cutting down the best timber and continually throwing down our fences and exposing our crops to destruction. I have not been able to get legislative protection from the state, and again urge upon your department to instruct me.....I have hitherto urged the propriety of paying all the settlers in the valley for their improvements and then remove them entirely out of the limits of the reservation.....

Peace and quiet generally prevail among all the numerous tribes within the district. Occasionally a few cattle are killed by the starving Indians, whose lives, or others entirely innocent, pay the forfeit or damages" (BIA, 1862).

Extracts from the "Report of the Indian Commissioner for the Year 1862," Pages 310 to 312.

As before reported, this valley is located in the interior of the state, in the northeast corner of Mendocino County, about 300 miles travel eastly from Smith River Valley, and separated from the Sacramento Valley by about 50 miles travel over an exceedingly high mountain, impassable in winter time, owing to the deep snows, except at one or two indentations at the southeast. The valley, previous to a late stampede, contained above 2,000 Indians, and, as its name indicates, is round, containing nearly 20,000 acres of land, over one third of which is arable, the remainder well supplied with good living, water, and an abundance of white oak timber, suitable for fencing purposes; the wet lands producing abundance of grasses.

The altitude of this beautiful valley is several hundred feet over the Sacramento Valley, producing every description of grain and vegetables raised in the eastern states, and well adapted to the wishes of the interior Indians, and entirely surrounded by uninhabitable mountains for 20 miles in every direction.

Originally, as I am <u>now</u> informed by Colonel T. J. Henley, the old superintendent of Indian Affairs, only a small portion of this valley was taken up and used by him as a farm, connected with the Nome Lackee reservation; and as a matter of self-protection, he allowed and perhaps gave encouragement to, persons to settle on the adjoining lands. The following year, however, he had the whole valley surveyed for an Indian

Reservation, and then gave notice thereof, forewarning further settlement and improvements on said valley lands. Nevertheless, regardless of said notice, many other persons thereafter made settlements thereon and have entered upon the land enclosed for purposes of Indian pastures, taking the same up as "swamp and overflowed lands," and in this way have been a great annoyance to the Indian service, for the last two years and no remedy is to be found except by an action at law, which I have not been advised to commence, the United States surveyor having first reported and returned all the lands in the valley as belonging to the United States, but afterward sent in another report saying that this portion of the valley should have been returned as "swamp and overflowed lands."

I have often urged the necessity of paying the first settlers in this valley the value of their farms, and at once remove all of them entirely without the bounds of the reservation. * * * * I am more than ever convinced of the great impropriety of keeping Indians on a small piece of land as an Indian Reservation, the lines running close around their houses and the lands they cultivate.

This will never keep away a class of unprincipled white men, whose business alone is to mix with the Indians and at every opportunity make merchandise of their children and wives of their squaws; but by enlarging their boundary you at once secure peace and quiet on the reservation, and will not require troops for the protection of either the whites or Indians for the white man will not be allowed to settle within some ten or fifteen miles of the Indian villages. It is very important that the United States government should attend to this matter without further delay, as additional evidence of the importance of this matter allow me to say, in the month of June last, the settlers in this valley surrounded the camps of about one hundred Ylackie Indians on this reservation, and killed more than one-quarter of their number, saying that they "had done so to prevent them from stealing their cattle." Again, during the growing season of our crops in this valley, the settlers destroyed nearly everything raised on the reservation by throwing down our fences and turning in their cattle, hogs, and horses. My informants say that the fences are good, but often find them laid down in from two to ten places during one night. After the crops had all been destroyed, except a part of the potatoes, the settlers drove away between three and four hundred Indians out of the valley, under a threat that, "if any of their stock was killed, or should be missing, they would kill every one of the Indians."

Having just received a letter from the superintendent of that place, I will insert it, which corroborates the reports of others, and the telegraphic dispatches on the subject, viz:

Round Valley Sept. 25, 1862

Dear Sir: It becomes my duty to inform you that the whole of the Concow and Hat Creek Indians pulled up stakes yesterday evening and went away. The settlers have succeeded in destroying a large portion of the small grain and the corn crop entirely. We have found as many as seven slip-gaps of a morning there. The corners of the fence had been raised and chunks of wood put in, so that the largest hogs could walk in. Where they had destroyed the crops, they told the I. that there was nothing for them to eat, and that they would have to starve or steal, and that if they did not leave they would kill them. Quite a number of settlers came in about the time I left, I suppose to see that all went off right. I did not attempt to try to keep them by force, for I knew it would be useless, as I could do nothing alone when everybody in the valley were doing all they could to drive them off. Old Reese, after I had supported him all winter, came here and told the Indians to leave and go home; that there was no longer any reservation; "that it had gone in." So say the Indians. There were several of the citizens that went up and spent the night with them on Eel River, and some of them brought squaws back with them this morning. Just after they had started last evening, Steve Smith said, in the presence of a number of Pitt Rivers, that if they did not go inside of three days they woudl all be killed. They are very much alarmed, some are for leaving, and others feeling willing to risk it to stay. If they do stay, and the whites make a break, if I can save them I will do it, even at the sacrifice of my own life. I have given up all hope of soldiers coming to our relief, and the secessionists have got the reservation. They have got their certificate of purchase for the swamp land, and say they are going to turn their stock into the field on the grass. I want to know as soon as possible what is going to be done - if we are to try to go ahead in spite of them, or give it up. If we are to stay, let us have that saw-mill as soon as possible, and we will put up a fence that cannot be thrown open at will.

On account of the destruction of the crops, I am fearful that there is not enough to support what Indians are left. If I could get what is due me, I would give a hundred dollars towards buying provisions for them. I think the cheapest and best feed that could be got would be Shorts, on the other side, and take the mules and all the Indians and pack it over this fall. There ought to be soldiers speedily sent here, so that the Indians as well as ourselves, would not be at the mercy of these rebels when we know that they have no mercy.

To the Hon. G. M. Hanson (name of writer omitted)

I shall now be compelled either to purchase supplies from these same unprincipled men, who thus drive the Indians away, or remove to Nome Lackee, or some convenient place to navigation, where I can winter them on cheap flour and beef.

Had the appropriation been made by the last Congress to pay these settlers for their farms, as I had previously urged the necessity, thousands of dollars would have been saved to the government and scores of the lives of these inoffensive and unfortunate Indians. The future of the present year may present something still more alarming, as threats are constantly making against both Indians and employes (BIA, 1862).

1863 July Hanson to Dole

"....When Captain Lincoln, big chief, send Indians plenty blankets?"...

August ...meeting at Pence's ranch..."about 300 of the most infuriated men I ever met"...resolution to remove every Indian in the county to the reservation within thirty days... carried out their threats...hanged two and scalped them... murdered two men, a squaw and a little girl..."More harmless persons to not exist, and a more cowardly murder was never perpetrated."

Captain Douglas found 200 sick Indians from Chico "scattered along the way for 40 miles...dying by tens for want of care and medical treatment and from lack of food." He accused the agent of being off on private business to San Francisco, where he "passed several hundred both going and returning".... and "I am well informed that he took no notice of them whatever to relieve their sufferings" (BIA, 1863, p. 414.).

Austin Wiley, Superintendent California, to W. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs

"I found a state of feeling existing between Capt. Douglas, Commanding Officer at Fort Wright, and the officers and employees on the reservation...The settlers are all extremely anxious concerning the intention of the government relative to the purchase of their improvements...Col. Henley, former Superintendent, called to see me. He is the ruling spirit among the cooperhead settlers in the valley and of course knows more of the situation of the original lines than any other man; indeed I think more than he would care to tell" (BIA, 1864, p. 129).

Special Commissioner R. J. Stevens to L. V. Bogy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs

"The Indians are the only things in the valley not pleasant to contemplate" (BIA, 1867).

1871 - Commissioner J. V. Farwell: Report of the Investigation of Claims against the United States

....."The want of a fixed policy...the presence of a sufficient number of soldiers to make a foothold for a few traders, settlers and camp followers has inevitably fixed the status of the Indians as doomed to perpetual trials and tribulations unless the strong arm of the government shall interpose to define the boundaries of the reservation and protect it from invasion. There are at present about 100 settlers, all of them squatters, knowing when they came that it was set aside for Indian occupancy...I rode over these swamp lands and should consider them as valuable for cultivation as any in the valley. One large farm of 2500 acres is claimed by a former superintendent and I was informed that the work of fencing it was all done by Indians ...timber claims and cattle ranges have been taken up by settlers, reservation cattle are shot on sight...claimants threaten to shoot any Indians sent by the agent to get timber" (BIA, 1871, p. 155; U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872).

1872 - Whiting, Superintendent to Walker, Commissioner

"Since the order of the U.S. Attorney General to suspend all legal proceedings against certain trespassers on the Round Valley Reservation, some of them have become bold and insolent ...Indians have been driven off and outside stock wickedly turned into the reservation enclosures, there to riot in growing wheat, oats and corn...It is not, however, considered a safe undertaking in the neighborhood of Indian reservations in California, for a good, law-abiding man to attempt to punish a bad man and a lawbreaker for an indignity to an Indian or those having them in charge...It is not considered a crime to steal horses and cattle in Round Valley, so long as they are taken from the Indian reservation....Originally the whole of Round Valley, 25,000 acres, was set apart for Indian purposes. Afterward an order...extending the boundaries to the summit of the mountains. The Indian Department has in actual possession only about 4,000 acres and a portion of that is falsely claimed as swamp land. The balance of the valley is in the possession of the settlers, all clamorous for breaking up the reservation and driving the Indians away...so long as these settlers have a voice in the selection of our Representatives to Congress and the Indians have none, they must and will be heard at Washington .... (BIA, 1872).

1873

"Round Valley stockmen never did a better day's work for themselves than when they rushed the Act of March 3, 1873, through Congress and the credit which the Henleys claim for that performance has never been grudged them by their neighbors... If a tithe of the stories told by settlers in Round Valley should prove to be true, of the murder, arson, hamstringing and killing of cattle of the new settlers...the government should promptly institute an investigation.... (S.F. Daily Examiner, Feb. 5, 1888, pp. 9-10.).

1875

"By Act of Congress, 2 years or more since, 20,000 acres of beautiful arable land, worth $25./acre were detached...added to public lands, to be greedily appropriated by the enterprising whites who had inspired this legislation, at $1.25/acre while the wild mountain lands that were added to the reservation by the same act, a miserable compromise at best, are still held and occupied as sheep ranches by squatters, whom the government fails to eject...Not an Indian...owns a foot of land in fee simple and not one, however much advanced, in civilization, is secure in his home. If he build houses and plant vineyards, he may not be allowed long to occupy one or to gather the harvest for which he has toiled in the other...a few lines, skillfully and perhaps furtively introduced into a legislative act at the close of a congressional session, have been the means of inflicting a wound on justice and humanity in the persons of these poor children of the forests for which atonement is difficult and perhaps impossible (BIA, 1875, p. 7).

4. Wars and Massacres

A. Clear Lake 1849-50

The Stone and Kelsey "Massacre" on the Shores of Clear Lake in 1849.

The Indian Viewpoint.

"The author, William Benson, son of a white father, and the hereditary chief of the Xabe-nape and Xolo-napo divisions of the Pomo, was born about 1862. His version of the story was obtained from the five Indians who killed Stone and Kelsey. The events in Benson's narrative took place at different times; the killing of Stone and Kelsey in the fall of 1849, after the gold discovery...Indians of the Clear Lake region had been dragged

along virtually as slaves by the gold seekers, and very few had straggled back.

"The punitive expedition took place a year later, and was conducted with a savagery of which Benson's own account gives only an inadequate notion. Nothing except sadistic lust on the part of the white soldiers can explain it, since the generally pacific character of the California Indians was well known, and Vallejo's agents, under whose control these particular Indians had been for years before 1849, lived in terms of the utmost friendliness with them...." (Introduction by Max Radin).

Benson's account, exactly as written, follows:

"Shuk and Xasis..were the instigators...it was not because (they) had any ill feeling torge the two white men. There were two Indian villages..the indians in both of these camps were starving. stone and kelsey would not let them go out hunting or fishing. Shuk and Xasis was stone and kelsey headriders looking out for stock. cattle horses and hogs.. ..only those herds got anything to eat. each one of these (18) herders got 4 cups of wheat for a day's work. this cup would hold about one and a half pints of water. The wheat was boiled before it was given to the herders and the herders shire with their famlys. the herders who had large familys were also starveing. about 20 old people died during the winter from starvetion. from severe whipping 4 died....such as whipping and tying their hands together with rope. the rope then thrown over a limb of a tree and then drawn up untill the indians toes barly touchs the ground and let them hang there for hours. this was common punishment. when a father or mother of young girl was asked to bring the girl to his house. by stone or kelsey. if this order was not obeyed. he or she would be whipped or hung by the hands...these two men had the indians to build a high fence arund thir villages and the head riders were to see that no indian went outside of this fence after dark..tied both hands and feet.. next day. taken to a tree and was tied down..then the strongs man was chosen to whip the prisoner...many of the old men and woman died from fear and starvetion...the starvetion was the cause of the massacre of stone and kelsey.....one day the lake watchers saw a boat come round the point. som news coming....the white warriors had come to kill all the indians around the lake.....the indians said they would meet them in peace. so when the whites landed the indians went to wellcom them. but the white man was determined to kill them. Ge-Wi-Lih said he threw up his hands and said no harm me good man. but the white man fired and shoot him in the arm and another shoot came and hit a man staning along side of him and was killed. so they had to run and fight back...many women and children were killed on around this island.

old lady (a indian) told about what she saw while hiding under a bank in under a overhanging tuleys. she said she saw two white man coming with their guns up in the air and on their guns hung a little girl. they brought it to the creek and threw it in the water. and a little while later, two more men came in the same manner. this time they had a little boy on the end of their guns and also threw it in the water. a little ways from her she said layed a woman shoot through the shoulder. she held her little baby in her arms. two white men came running torge the woman and the baby, they stabed the woman and the baby and threw both of them over the bank into the water. she said she heard the woman say, O my baby; she said when they gathered the dead, they found all the little ones were killed by being stabed. she said it took them four or five days to gather up the dead. and the dead were all burnt on the east side the creek. they called it the siland creek....the whites hung a man on Emersons iland. this indian was met by the soldiers while marching from scotts valley to upper lake. the indian was hung and a large fire built under the hanging indian. and another indian was caught near Emerson hill. this one was tied to a tree and burnt to death. the next morning the soldiers started for mendocino county. and there killed many indians. the camp was on the ranch now known as Ed Howell ranch...the indians wanted to surrender, but the soldiers did not give them time. the soldiers went in the camp and shoot them down as tho if they were dogs ....they killed mostly woman and children...one old man..a boy at the time said the soldiers shoot his mother, she fell to the ground with her baby in her arms. ..his mother told him to climb high up in the tree..he could see the soldiers runing about the camp and shooting the men and woman and stabing boys and girls. he said his mother was not yet dead and was telling him to keep quiet. two of the soldiers heard her talking and ran up to her and stabed her and child. and a little ways from his mother he said laid a man dieing, holding his boy in his arms the soldiers also stabed him, but did not kill the boy, they took the boy to he camp crying, they gave it everything they could find in camp but the little boy didnot quit crying. it was a boy about three years oa age, whenthe soldiers were getting redy to move camp, the raped the boy up in a blanket and lief the little boy seting by the fire raped up in a blanket and was tils crying and that boy is live today, his name is bill ball, now lives in Boonville....One old man told me about the soldiers..in the same camp...he must have been about 18 or 20 years of age...he and another boy..there were two soldiers in charge of them..one ahead and one behind..they both were bear-footed...when they were climbing over the bottlerock mountain thir feet...were bleeding...the man behind would jab them with the sharp knife fixed on the end of the gun..one of the soldiers came and looked at thir feet and went to a box opened it took a cup and diped something out of a sack...took a hand full..and rubed it in the

cuts on the bottom of their feet....look like salt..the solder tied cluth over their feet and told them not to take them off ...all the solders came up and stood around laughing. they roled and twisted for about two hours....two or three days later the chife soldiers told them they could go back. they was then gaven meat and bread...raped a lot of cloth around thir feet and by doing so made thir way all right...looking back all the time thinking that the soldiers would follow them and kill them....they got to thir home. he said to himself. hear I am not to see my mother and sister but to see thir blood scattered over the ground like water and thir bodys for coyotes to devour. he said he sat down under a tree and cryed all day" (California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 11, 1932, pp. 266-273.).

B. Round Valley

1858-9

1. My copy of Browne's article is a carbon of the typed version which I obtained from the Sacramento Office of Indian Affairs in 1937, together with a brief vita of Mr. Browne: He was "in the Revenue Service in California where he reported the sessions of the first state constitutional convention, later Minister to China. In 1869 he made an elaborate report on the 'Resources of the Pacific Slope.'"

The last page contains a copy of a letter from Dorcas J. Spencer of Alameda (undated) including..."My parents were pioneer Californians and California then had not many, if any other writers of Browne's caliber, so his writings were the intellectual tidbits of my girlhood.....I can testify to its truth. One of my brothers saw the official survey for the Round Valley. When the Indians were sent there he went to see whether they got it, because it was fairly good land. All that land was promptly seized by white men, the land given the Indians being a barren region of steep mountains nearly inaccessible until within the last few years.

"My father's home was probably the only one south of Eel River that was not notified and its men invited to take part in the massacre on Indian Island and two others near the coast on the same night, Feb. 26, 1860. Pardon reminiscences. I know whereof I speak. I later served as Superintendent of work among Indians in the National W.C.T.U. nearly twenty years. By the end of that time I had learned that the Indians of no other state were so poor and neglected as ours" (Browne, 1864).

1859

Major Johnson reported that on the previous New Year's certain whites "armed with rifles and revolvers, went to the several farms upon which Yuka Indians were employed as servants and in cold blood killed some 40 or 50 of them. They directed the ranch owners to select such Indians as they did not wish killed, and they would kill the rest..I have not heard that any reason was assigned for the massacre, but have understood that it was a sort of New Year's frolic (Tassin, 1887, p. 27).

Henley refuted Johnson in the S. F. National of Feb. 5, 1860, and Lt. Carlin, in the absence of Johnson and Dillon, "answered the aspersions on their courage and veracity." Pending the solution of the controversy, the state authorized the employment of volunteers.

Carlin, July 1859, "The captain of volunteers says he will operate in Round Valley and Eden Valley until all the Indians are removed...Eden Valley was the scene of religious ceremonies at certain times of the year" (Tassin, 1887, p. 29).

1862 - G. M. Hanson to W. P. Dole, Aug. 18

"a short time after I visited Round Valley, Nome Cult reservation, in the month of July last, about 100 Ylackee Indians voluntarily came on to the reservation and encamped near headquarters, and I have little doubt but that they came to secure the protection of the government employees, and share a portion of the clothing and provisions issued to other Indians a short time previously.

"The same band, or about the same number of the same tribe, visited the reservation when I was there one year ago, and I made them some presents of blankets, shirts, calicoes, etc. under a promise that they would remain: but not long afterwards they all left again for their native hills. As soon as the white men of the valley (who had been some days in search of these, or some other Indians, who, as they alleged, had been stealing their cattle) ascertained that these Indians had arrived on the reservation, they armed themselves, numbering 27 strong, and surrounded their camps, killing 45 of their number, mostly men. They allege, as the cause of this outrage, that they had fears, when the Indians left again, they would steal and drive off their cattle and other stock.

A few days previously the same party, or a part of them, attacked some four or five Indians on the reservation, killing one with a knife. (The supervisor writes me that he was one of the best and most innocent Indians on the reservation.) The others they took off and hanged.

"I obtained from Brig. Genl Wright to send troops there for our protection, and still they have not arrived. The truth is the lands occupied by the government for Indian purposes in Round Valley are so encroached upon by settlers, who seeing that Congress has refused to pay them for their improvements, have determined in my opinion, to get the Indians all off, and take possession of the entire lands; nor will troops, I fear, prevent them, for I learn they have threatened to drive off or kill every Indian in the valley this winter....

"I have so repeatedly represented to your department the immense trouble and vexation caused among us by these reckless men, and that no other remedy can be provided for it than a removal of all the settlers from the valley, and payment for their improvements, except such as have come on to our enclosed lands or settled in the valley since notice was given forbidding them to do so" (BIA, 1862, pp. 310-312).

Hanson to Dole, Aug. 22

"Two or three weeks ago an incendiary set fire to 30 tons of hay and a barn of a settler. Captain Douglas investigated. The crime was fixed on 5 or 6 members of the Yuka tribe, one of whom lived on the reservation, the others with settlers. The principal testimony was by squaws living with white men, who testified to threats made by the Indians, who were judged guilty and hanged. (The supervisor and Hanson were ignorant of the affair and Douglas' motives "were probably pure.") A fellow distinguished for kidnapping Indian children has been arrested, examined, and acquitted for burning this wheat, although the circumstances are strong against him and nearly everyone in the valley believes him guilty."

Dec. 31

"Again I beg leave to call immediate attention to the great importance of..paying the settlers on Nome Cult..and remove them entirely out of the valley. Since my last report, several persons have entered what they are pleased to call swamp and overflowed lands on this reservation and have thus taken possession and even purchased, some five hundred acres of the best land (within our enclosure) under cover of the law granting to the State the swamp and overflowed lands. Now these settlers are becoming more numerous every year and already exceedingly annoying, both to the employee and the Indian. A liquor establishment is kept in said valley, at which place the troublesome white men become intoxicated, then come on the farms, threatening the employees, and abusing the Indians and recently they massacred 108 Indians in that vicinity under the pleas that they or some others had stolen and killed some of their hogs and cattle and on two

other occasions within the last two years, several other Indians have been murdered in the most inhuman and cold-blooded manner. Counsel, the best I could find to consult, say that we cannot compel these men to abandon this valley, from the fact that one of my predecessors invited and encouraged settlement in said valley when he was superintending agent of Indian Affairs. Of this I know nothing except through information of others, but one thing is certain, that a great number of cattle are being brought into the valley by the settlers, and are devouring the grass upon which govt animals have to subsist; that our fences are thrown open in a clandestine manner, and thus the crops are constantly exposed to destruction" (BIA, 1862).

1863 - Hanson to Dole, April 25

"One Bowers had been killed by an Indian with an axe, and that Bowers had killed two Indians on the two previous days, while coercing them to go with him in search of a squaw, by whom he had a half-breed child."

1863 - Hanson to Dole, June 17

"...received Dole's letter of 25th ultimo, saying "It is difficult for this office to give you any definite instructions as to the best course to be pursued..and hence it will be necessary to depend much upon your own judgment."

Hanson called the settlers to offer suggestions and expressed disapproval of the wanton killing of 23 or 24 Wylackis and especially the employees who winked at or secretly aided in it. Some viewed the plan for renting and paying them very favorably, others did not.

Undated - Story of Horse Canyon

Tome-ya-nem, last chief of the Concow: "the people were hungry did not have enough ground to raise corn, potatoes and watermelons....they go to Round Valley. It was hard work and there was less to eat, but the Ad-sals (white men) liked the chief and knew the Concow were good Indians. After a year White men told them that the Wylackies were killing the stock, that if they weren't punished they would kill Concows and Whites. I said, "No," that I knew they were bad Indians, but they had done no harm to me or mine. They went to the agent who did not know what to do, other Whites prevailed on him, and he asked them to go. Some Yukas and Pit Rivers were camped near a place full of horseheads. Wylackies thick as leaves, singing, dancing, children playing, the trees full of drying meat. The Whites, frightened, asked him to be chief in the battle. He told them to obey and gave his men orders not to kill women and children.

The Concows and Pit Rivers were drunk with blood, tomahawks (?) used on young and old." One White man and he gathered women and children, (until) a Yuka came with the news that a White was killed or wounded, and the man with Tome-ya-nem commanded them to kill the women and children. Some were hidden among the rocks, "perhaps they did not die. The dead Wylackies were strewn over the ground like the dead leaves in the fall, the sky was black with ravens, and now, in summer days, the bones bleach .....the Ad-sals were afraid their Great White father would keep all the valley for the Indians and that the Whites would have to go to some other home and they hated us for it very much; often late at night in the springtime, some of the Ad-sals would steal around our fences and throw them down and drive shumim (?) into the fields and the young corn and everything green would disappear in the night" (Tassin, 1884, pp. 7ff.),

C. Eden Valley and Eel River

N. S. Clark, Col. 6th Infantry, Brt Brig Genl Commanding, to J. B. Weller, Governor, enclosing letters from Edward Dillon, 2nd Lt. 6th Inf. to Brevet Major E. Johnson, Fort Weller (Fort Weller was located on the west side of Round Valley.),

April 2, 185_

"I have said above that the party went to Eden Valley to hunt Indians returned, having killed two; this is a mistake, for only a portion returned, leaving the larger number in Eden Valley, where they have been for nearly two weeks, hunting Indians...it is currently reported that 240 Indians were killed, and I have been told by as reliable a man as there is in the valley that one of the party said they had killed that number.

"Mr. Hall...was here a day or two since and asked me if I intended to do anything in the matter. I told him I could do nothing and would do nothing; that, after this recent exploit, he could expect no sympathy if the Indians should kill every head of cattle or stock in the valley. He said that the citizens intended to organize a company to go out and hunt the Indians to extermination, and I have no reason to doubt that it will be done....

"On last Sunday, Thomas Henley went over on Eel River with some of his employees, and finding some huts, surrounded them, and sent an Indian in to tell the Indians to come out and come into the Reservation, that they would not be shot. Four bucks came out, but one of them professed to be lame and unable to walk, whereupon Mr. Henley either shot him or had him shot. The other three Indians came in with him. Mr. Henley does not charge these Indians with having stolen anything from him, but says they

were too near him and he is afraid they will steal. He says he killed this Indian because he looked like a bad Indian and he did not want to leave him. The three Indians who came in say that all the rest of their band would come in, but they are afraid. I told the interpreter to tell them to go out and tell all the Indians they could find to come in or they will be killed by the citizens, but would be protected here. Night before last 57 came in and I think it likely before long more will follow."

Fort Weller (Round Valley), Aug 21, 1859, Brevet Major and Capt 6th Inf. Johnson to Major W. W. Mackall, Asst Adjt Gen. U.S. Army. S.F.

"A war of extermination is being vigorously waged by the citizens of Round and Eden Valleys and a company of men under one Jarboe, from Russian River, has started out against the Indians who inhabit the county adjacent to Round and Eden Valleys. This Jarboe has been expecting a commission from the Governor of this State, but had not as I learn, received it when I left Round Valley. Up to the fourteenth instant, he said he had attacked 12 Indian rancherias and I am informed that up to that time he had killed some 50 Indians....Three squaws with young infants in their arms, were captured and brought in by him, who informed me that in the attack on their camp, 6 men, four women and 4 children had been killed.

"A few days after that event, some of the settlers of Round Valley turned out and killed 11 Indians over on Eel River, headed by Col. T. J. Henley, late Sup't of Indian Affairs. This party, three of whom were Col. Henley's sons called on me. They acknowledged the killing and justified the act by producing a horse's ear and two tongues, which they stated had been found with other evidence of guilt on the part of the Indians in the rancheria they had attacked. None of the party complained of having lost this stock, but said that the Indians had killed stock and would continue to do so. They killed the Indians and then discovered what they considered conclusive evidence of their guilt. Col. Henley approved of their course and defended the acts of Jarboe and party. The Indians, driven by these repeated attacks from their usual places of resort, have taken refuge in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, where it is impossible for them to glean even a scanty subsistence and pinched by hunger have doubtedless killed some of the stock which, loose and unherded, ranges for many miles over that country. But, that they have killed anything like the amount of which they are accused, I do not believe, nor is there evidence to substantiate the charge. Every head of stock that is missing is charged to the Indians.

"I believe it to be the settled determination of many of the inhabitants to exterminate the Indians and I see no way of preventing it. I have endeavored to collect them on the Reservation and several hundred are there now, but they have a great aversion to coming in, doubtless owing, in great measure, to the mortality at this time prevailing among them: some eight or ten per day having died previous to my leaving the valley. This mortality is attributed to a change of diet, scarcity of food, and the great prevalence of syphilitic disease among them."

Dillon to Jarboe

"I have received your note of this morning and have to state in reply that I have no evidence of M. Bland being killed by the Indians nor do I know of two hundred head of cattle, or any number of animals having been killed by Indians near the forks of Eel River, in Long Valley.

"I must therefore respectfully decline to cooperate with you against the Indians" (California Legislature - Appendix to the Senate Journals - Correspondence relative to Indian Affairs in Mendocino County, 1860, p. 3ff.).

D. Story of Bloody Rock (told by two Potter Valley White men)

"The Shumeias (Uki) tried to get the Pomos to unite against the White men, but the Pomos told the Americans of the plot. A company pursued them on the Eel River, hunted them over the mountains and through canyons with sore destruction. The battle went everywhere against the savages, though they fought heroically falling from village to village, from gloomy gorge to gorge, disputing all the soil with their traditional valor...

"But of course they could not stand against the scientific weapons, the fierce and unresting energy, and the dauntless bravery of the Americans..The smoke of burning villages blackened the sky at noonday, warping and rolling over the mountains; and at night the flames snapped their yellow tongues in the face of the moon; while the wails of dying women and of helpless babes, brained against a tree, burdened the air.

"About 30 or 40 were cut off, pursued, and escaped up Bloody Rock, an isolated boulder standing grandly out, scores of feet on the face of the mountain, the only access by a rugged narrow cleft in the rear, which one man could defend against a nation. Once on the summit, they found that the Californians could knock them off in detail. There was a truce and parley, and three alternatives were offered. They could continue the fight and be picked off one after another; or to continue the truce and perish from hunger; or to lock hands and plunge down from the

boulder. The Indians were not long in choosing; they did not falter or cry out or whimper, but decided in short consultation to leap down. They advanced to the brow, joined hands, then commenced chanting their death song and the hoarse, deathly rattle floated down far and faint to the ears of the waiting listeners ...As they ceased and the weird unearthly tones of the dirge were heard no more, there fell upon the little band of Americans a deathly silence, for even the stout hearts of those hardy pioneers were appalled at the thing which was about to be done. The Indians hesitated only a moment. With one sharp cry of strong and grim human suffering, which rang out strangely and sadly over the echoing mountains, they leaped down to their death" (Powers, 1872-74.).

E. The Mendocino War

1. Discussed in California Legislature

"The march of civilization deprives the Indian of his hunting ground and other means of subsistence..either from motives of revenge or, what is more likely in California, from the imperious and pressing demands of hunger, kills the stock of the settler...and a war is waged against the Indians, with its incidents of cruelty, inhuman revenge, rapine and murder, which, we are sorry to acknowledge, have in some instances been perpetrated by a few of our citizens.

"In Mendocino County..the Indians have committed depredations on the stock of the settlers...Some have been, in a pecuniary point of view, almost ruined...The citizens, for the purpose of protection to their property, have pursued the tribes supposed to be guilty to their mountain retreats and in most cases have punished them severely...the conflict still exists: Indians continue to kill cattle and horses as a means of subsistence and the settlers in retaliation punish with death. Many of the most respectable settlers in Mendocino County have testified before your committee that they kill Indians found in what they consider hostile districts, whenever they lose cattle or horses, nor do they attempt to conceal or deny this fact. The citizens do not admit, nor does it appear by the evidence, that it has been their practice or intention to kill women or children, although some have fallen in the indiscriminate attacks on the Indian rancherias...in the recent authorized expeditions...women and children were taken to the reservations...in the private expeditions this rule was not observed, but..in one instance an expedition was marked by the most horrid atrocity...the mass of the settlers look upon such acts with the utmost abhorrence.

"...inadequate reserves of the Federal government...other land open to settlement, tho aborigines are still on them....fine grazing...The stock deprives the Indians of clover, roots, acorns ...."

(After trouble in Round Valley, the Indians were driven to Long Valley, 25 miles away, where they killed some stock.)

"A most fearful retribution...an armed organization of 40 men, which is yet in existence, who go out at the call of their captain for the purpose of hunting Indians whenever they are satisfied that any stock has been slaughtered by the Indians, and without ascertaining the guilty parties, shoot them down indiscriminately and afterward seek for the evidence of their guilt.

"Accounts are daily coming in from the counties in the Coast Range, of sickening atrocities and wholesale slaughter of great numbers of defenceless Indians in that region of the country. Within the last 4 months, more Indians have been killed by our people than during the century of Spanish and Mexican domination" (California Legislature, 1860, p. 3ff.).

2. Reported to Washington

William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to C. B. Smith, Secretary of the Interior, Nov. 27.

...the causes which led to the employment of US and volunteer forces against the Indians in the frontier portions of Humboldt and Mendocino Counties, and..the crimes that are committed in the wake and, as seems to be the case, under the quasi protection of those forces, presents a picture of the perversion of power and of cruel wrong, from which humanity instinctively recoils. This so-called "Indian war" appears to be war in which the whites alone are engaged. The Indians are hunted like wild and dangerous beasts of prey; the parents are "murdered," and the children "kidnapped"..... (BIA, 1861).

5. Reservation System

"The government, observing how the old missionaries made the Indians support themselves and lay up fat stores for the fathers, devised, in 1853, the reservation system but committed the radical blunder of sending out professional politicians as Indian agents, instead of men with some tolerable idea of controlling Indians by moral means...The result...was a disgraceful failure" (Tuthill, 1866, p. 635).

"The number of Indians, men, women and children in California, at any time after the discovery of gold, did not exceed 20,000... Capt Wilkes USN..in 1841, says, "The number of Indians is variously stated as from twelve to fifteen thousand; but it is

believed by some of the best informed, that their number, since the smallpox made its ravages among them, is not much more than one-half this number, or eight or nine thousand.

"The character of the Indian was as much misrepresented by Gov. McDougal as their number. The valley tribes, it is true, always represented the mountain tribes as extremely fierce and warlike. They were only so in comparison with the valley tribes. They made some forays, ran off some cattle, and now and then killed a settler, but their most violent crimes were really crimes of stealth. Their murders were the murders of the Thug, not of the bravo. There were then, at the time Gov. McDougal wrote, 3000 to 4000 "warriors," mission and wild, poorly armed, disunited, and of little or no spirit.....

"The national government..sent its quota of arms for 100,000 militia...the general govt changed its plans. Three commissioners were appointed to treat with the California tribes and the militia were ordered to be held subject to their orders. The treaties they made were simple agreements for the Indians to go on reservations. The Indian titles were never extinguished in California as they were in the other states. Most of the tribes made the agreement gladly, but some of the mountain tribes feared to come in, on account of anticipated punishment, or because they preferred their mountain lairs, and were treated as hostiles. Catching these Indians and bringing them in constituted the 'war of '51 and '52.'

"...an improved reservation system was put in force by the government in 1853. Klamath...fairly well managed and successful...Nome Lackee, west of Sacramento in the foothills of Tehama County. It had no game, no acorns, no fishery, and no rain, and hence being useful for nothing else, was eminently fitted for a reservation. Adjunct to Nome Lackee was Nome Cult (Round Valley a.s.) a pretty valley of about 20,000 acres, about sixty miles southwest of the former and across the Coast Range. The Indians did very well there until the agent and employees got their relatives, friends, and partners to come and settle there. Before long that place became too good for the Indians, as we shall see presently....Mendocino...Tejon...Fresno...King's River.

"The management of these reservations was under one of the ablest Indian rings ever known in America. Not a reliable report went in to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for five years, but their work was so well done that they received compliments for their able accounts of their labors. The total number of Indians was scandalously exaggerated..and the numbers at the reservations in like manner. So far as can be learned, not more than 2,000 Indians were subsisted at the reservations at any time, and they drew principally on the oak trees, the

manzanita bushes and the clover fields for their rations. The great majority of the Indians were quietly earning their living as vaqueros and farmhands or picking it up in the mountains, as they had before the government began civilizing them. Fabulous numbers of acres were reported to be under cultivation and magnificent crops were always just about to be harvested when blight or mildew or smut or drought intervened and ruined them. A small army of employes was on hand to instruct the Indians and defend the agency in case of outbreak, and the agent or employe who failed to get a claim of his own, and have it fenced and improved by Indian labor, was a man of no enterprise.

"In 1858, in consequence of repeated charges by army officers and citizens, special agent Bailey was sent out to investigate affairs in California. He did not seem to grasp the whole truth, but he was not in the ring, and he told the truth as he saw it. He showed that the salaries alone of the employees ..subsistence for themselves and their families...(was) over $100,000, that there was no such number of Indians on the reservations as reported; that the value of the crops was much less than a quarter of the salaries..that the only contented Indians were off the reservations; that friends and relatives of the agent and employes had been allowed to settle in the Nome Cult and create disturbance there; and that the Indians were neither being taught anything nor civilized in any respect. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the California reservations were a failure" (Bailey recommended in BIA report to Mix, Commissioner, that one reservation be set aside, in Round Valley, <u>the whole valley</u>. His underline a.s.). "He gave, among other reasons, that the Indians had not been "sufficiently thrown on their own resources." It is difficult to see how they could have been thrown on their own resources more fully, unless the acorn, berry and grass crops could have been destroyed....a change was made, a new superintendent appointed; the appropriation was cut down to $50,000. a year; and Tejon, Fresno, Nome Lackee and Masttole, with all their improvements, were abandoned in the course of a few years" (Dunn, 1886, p. 169).

6. Indian Schools

Lame Dancing Masters - an Indian View of Government Schools - Land of Sunshine 12, 1900, p. 356-8.

We "Red Men" are taken to be educated, enlightened, made into citizens, taught to take our place in the world. To do this work upon us, the government pays a small army of men and women.

Are we educated? Yes, but how? Can a lame man teach dancing? Ninety-nine out of a hundred of our teachers are lame dancing masters, and it is lame dancing they teach.

There is the school farmer, who instructs us. Is he a man who has ever farmed in this locality or anywhere under similar conditions of soil and climate? No, indeed! Has he ever been able to make a living at farming anywhere? Preposterous! That is not the sort of man who would be chosen. A man need not have farmed to pass a civil-service farmer's examination. Indian schools are not "business". If the white-vest farmer cannot raise his own horse-feed - and generally he cannot - the government furnishes. But he teaches us to plow, rake, harrow, sow, plant, cultivate. How profitable--as we never realize a harvest under his instruction.

We learn to garden as usefully. Beans are much eaten in a all the schools - a chief article of diet. They are all purchased,--though 'most any land would raise beans, and all schools have land that would. We eat beef and mutton - but are we taught to raise our own cattle and sheep? Only in a few schools. We eat dried fruit the year round in schools, where the neighboring farmers have abundance of fresh fruit.

Manual training - is it taught by a skillful workman who has made a living at his trade, a cabinetmaker, joiner, smith? None of these, too often the teacher is a woman, who could not sell all the bric-a-brac she ever made for enough to buy a summer hat. If the teacher is a man, he is generally as useless. If he hadn't a job teaching others the trade, he couldn't get a living. Manual training in many of our schools is merely to occupy our hands and make us content. It asks no practical questions of cost of material, time employed, usefulness of the finished article.

We saw wood, or clean sewers or sink-holes for fatigue duty, so that we may always have all the distaste for such work that the penal idea can pile upon its general unpleasantness. We "clean yard" in much the same spirit. Some boys are made to read their Bibles as a punishment. This is a good way to make them fond of the Bible and of cleanliness!

It is a boast of the service that superintendents of Indian schools stand in loco parentis to the pupils, but they are rather amateur parents. Many of these superintendents - men and women - are unmarried; many who are married are childless. What do they know about fathering or mothering many, if they never fathered or mothered any; they call us to them and make us good talks, but they do not go to the child to see if it is happy. He is fed and clothed; what more does he want? But ah,

friends, we have been happy without these things, in our homes where love was; in school we have them and are not happy, because love is not there. How many superintendents ever sat down to listen to and pity the story of a bruised heel or some other child woe? but a father would listen! a father would pity. Even a "red Man" father.

Our matrons are mostly good women, and mostly old maids. They do not know much about falling in love; they are not quite qualified to deal with growing girls - and grown ones - who still have woman-nature undried. These good but unappointed women do not know how to control and advise natures which crave and have not learned to dissent; the only recourse such teachers know is to use punishments. They cannot understand that my sister's look or gesture of longing is the forerunner of the pretty blush which so many hundred years of careful training have taught the Caucasian maiden who of course never betrays her nature except by a blush!

Our teachers - can they teach? Have they ever been successful in other schools, not of Indians? Yes, more than any other employes in the Indian service. But everywhere many of them are narrow and strangers. Most of them are Easterners who do not understand the frontier; most of them cannot take or make a place in the western communities to which they have come. They know a little about books - not very much, I think - and very little about life. White Westerners are not such fools, and neither are we. The teachers are not always looked up to by either class. They have not as much respect among their own people as we have among ours. Does this seem strange to you? It ought not to, for it is true. Among us Indians, only the wiser teach the children; among the whites, it seems as if those who couldn't make a living at anything else get a job to teach Indians.

Under this sort of a system, of which I have only given hints, we are brought up in a govt Indian school, after being taken from our homes. At no point are we in touch with actual life. At home we would have learned, with fathers' and mothers' love to do the things we shall have to do. At school we were unmade as Indians; and not made into white people. We are always trained by people who do not know our game and never could win their own.

Many of these teachers mean well. But I think that when a contract is let to build a school building, the contractor isn't paid for meaning to put up a building. He doesn't get his money unless he puts it up - nor then, unless he puts it up right. Maybe that is the reason so many more take positions than contracts; for the teacher is paid for attempts, the contractor only

results. If half as much care and shrewdness were given to the pupils as to the buildings, the Indian might have some chance to be really educated (at an Oklahoma agency).

7. Settlers 1867

Robt J. Stevens, special commissioner, to L. V. Bogy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the California situation - re: indebtedness, where to locate a single reservation, etc. - Jan. 1

Round Valley settlers and the land they have enclosed

W. P. White - Geo. E. Agent	1,600 acres
The four brothers Henley - farm	1,200
Samuel S. Davis	640
Witt William H. Johnson (s and o)	560
D. C. Dorman	320
W. M. Johnson	320
M. Corbett	320
J. A. Wiltsey	240
H. Schenck	100
J. H. Thomas	180
S. M. Smith	2,000
J. A. Owen (s and o)	320
C. H. Bourne (s and o)	
R. Rice	160
S. O. Moore	160
S. N. Gambrel	80
S. C. Lawrence	40
Antone Legar	160
S. Hornbrook	160
C. H. Eberle (inside res. limits)	150
Updegraff (Wiltsew's ranch)	
Griffin	160
Chandler	320
Morrison (quartersection)	160
Parnell	320
Gray (grist and sawmill)	320
	9,990

Settlers' conduct good - waiting for govt action on their claims - some object to leaving now that hard fight for security is over - others waiting for money (BIA, 1867).

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2. California Legislature, Majority and Minority Reports of the Special Joint Committee on the Mendocino War, Appendix to the Journals, 11th Session, 1860, Document 4.

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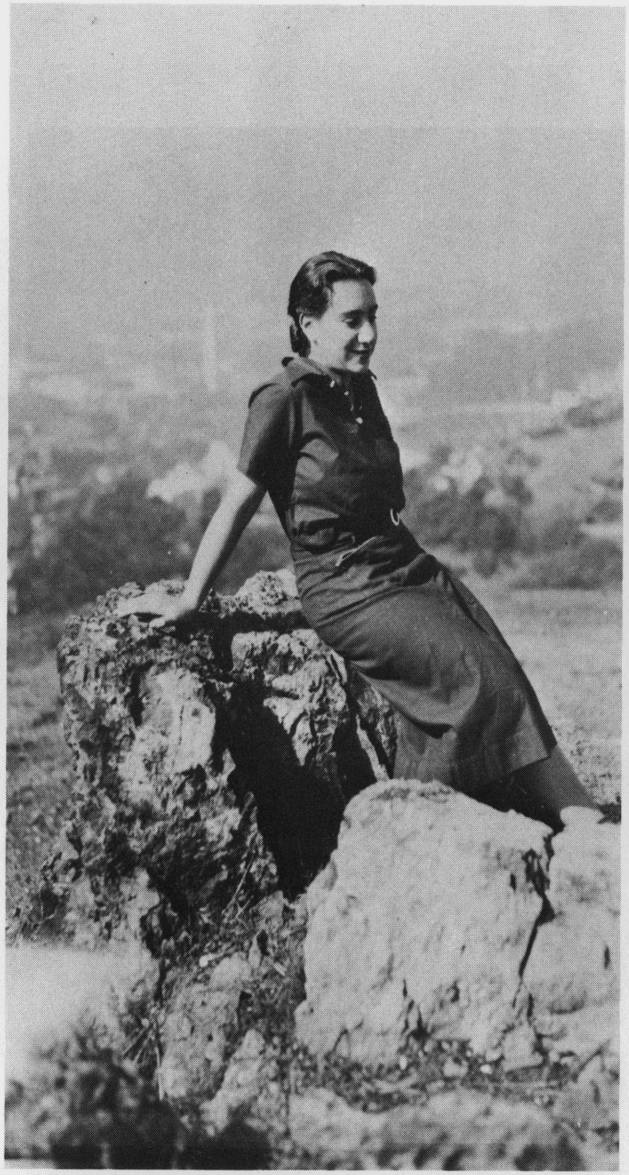
1. Left. The author (A.S.), November, 1937.
Right. Scene in Wailaki country between Round Valley and Split Rock.



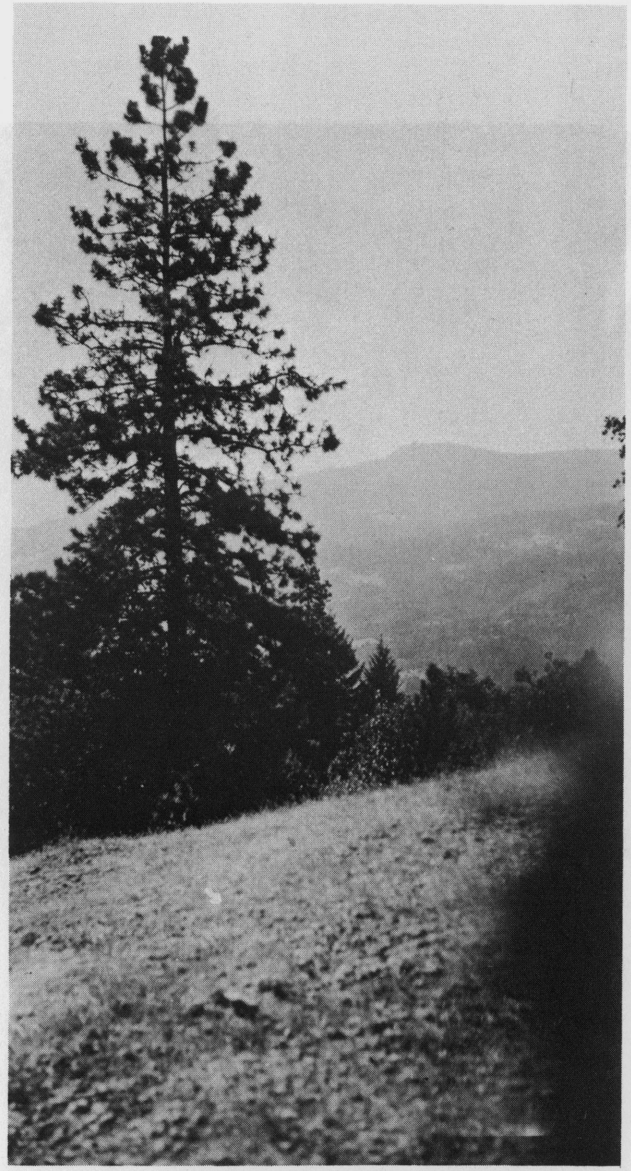
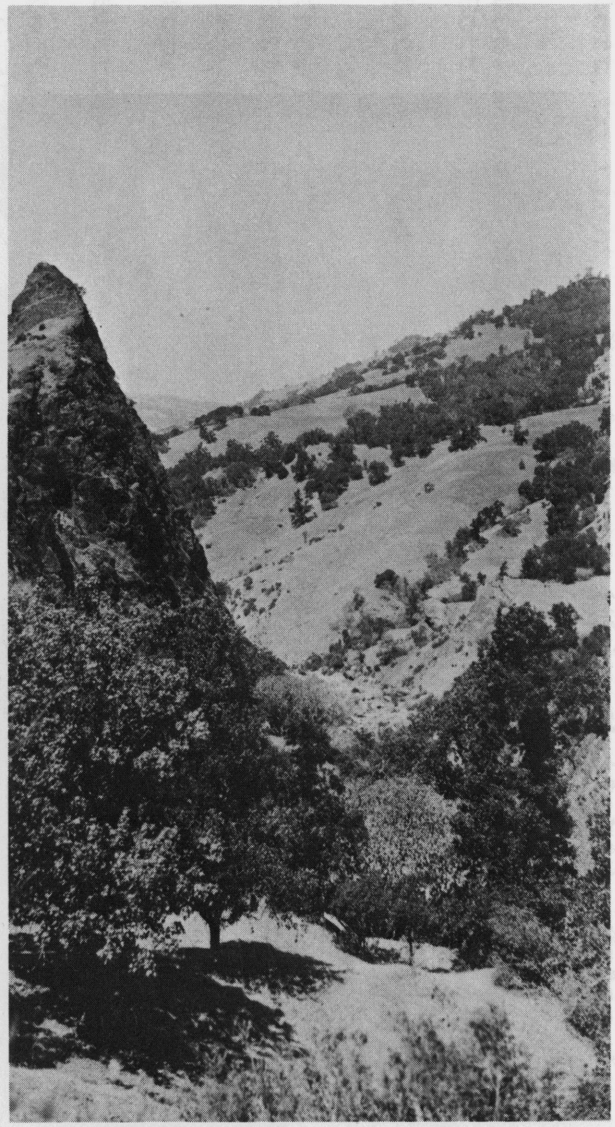


PLATE 1

2. Left. Split Rock (to left) at Ackerman's Crossing. This was the country of Fred Major's tribe (Wailaki).
Right. Round Valley from the foothills to the northwest.



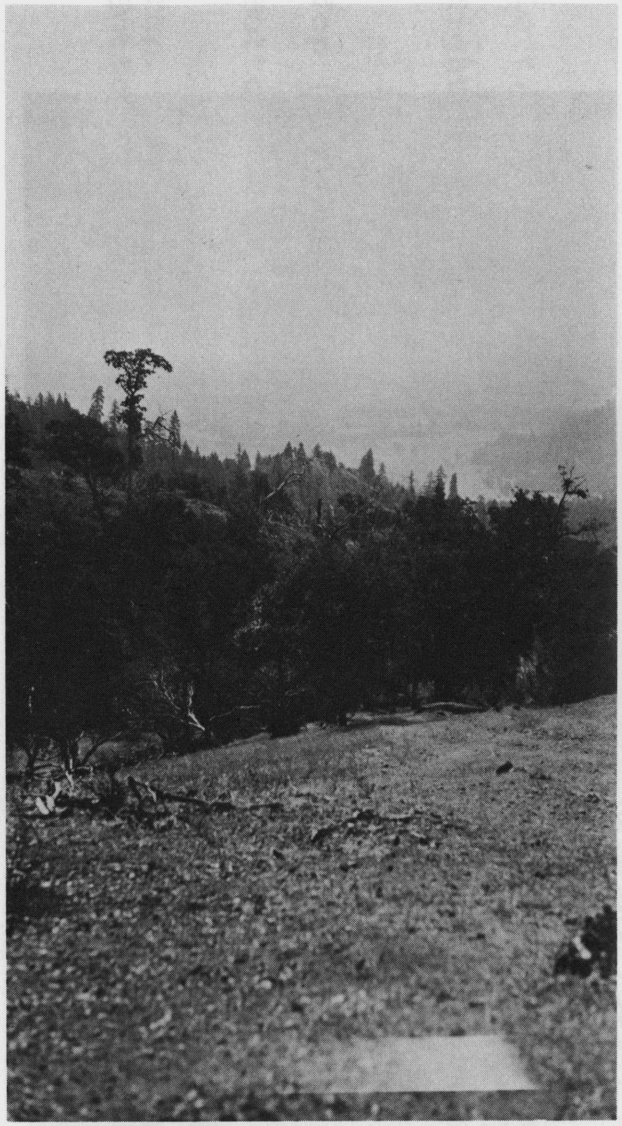


PLATE 2

3. Mary Major (Mad River Wailaki).

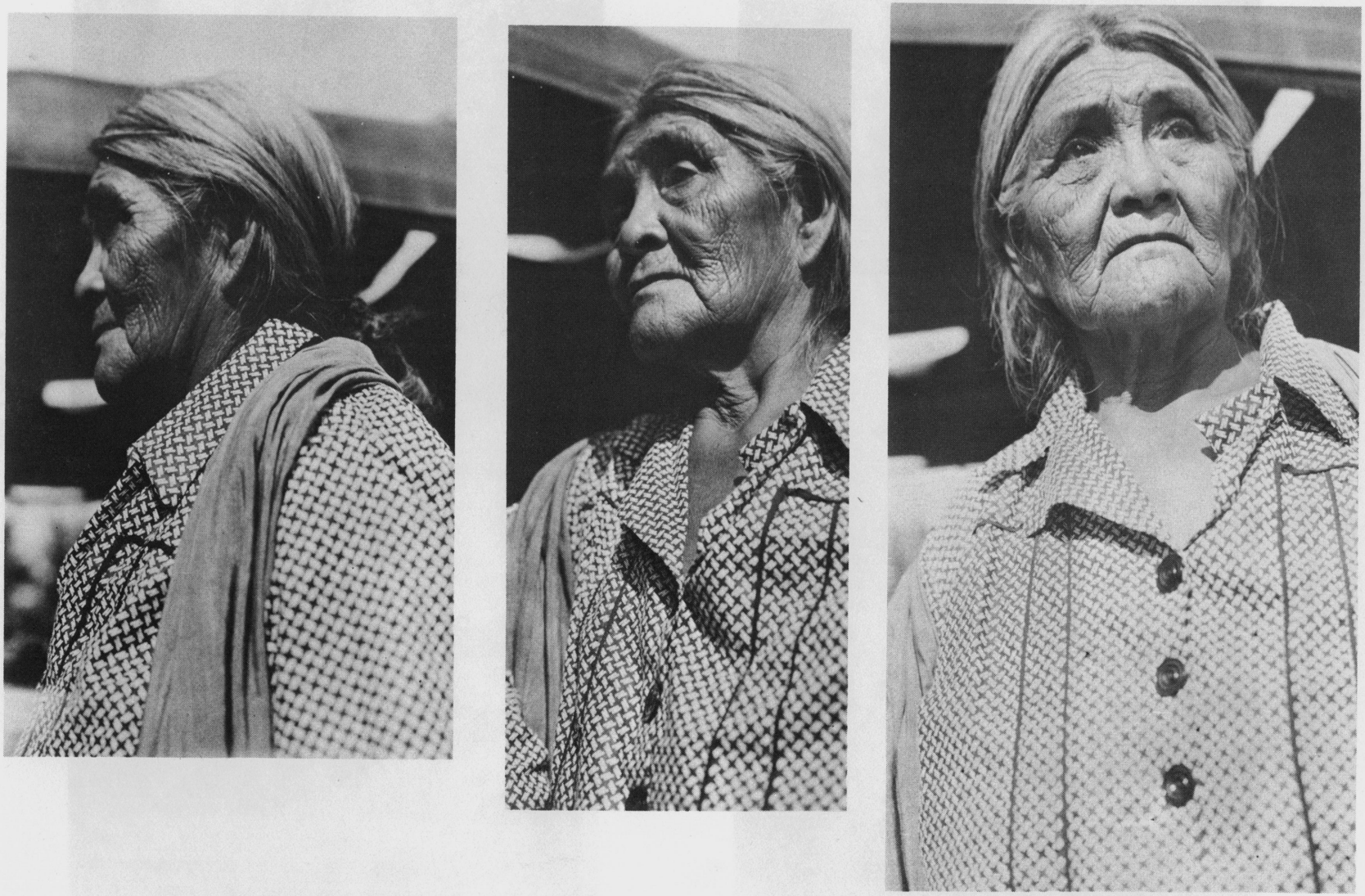


PLATE 3

4. Top (left to right). Emma Ledger, Flora Clark, Polly Anderson, Annie Feliz (all Concow).
Bottom (left to right). Grace Welsey, Lillian Hixie, Nelda Curtis, Dorothy Welsey, Alice Ive.

PLATE 4

5. Top. Martha and Arthur Anderson (Yuki).
Bottom. Arthur Anderson, Austin McLaine, Woody Whipple.

PLATE 5

6. Arthur Anderson (Yuki).

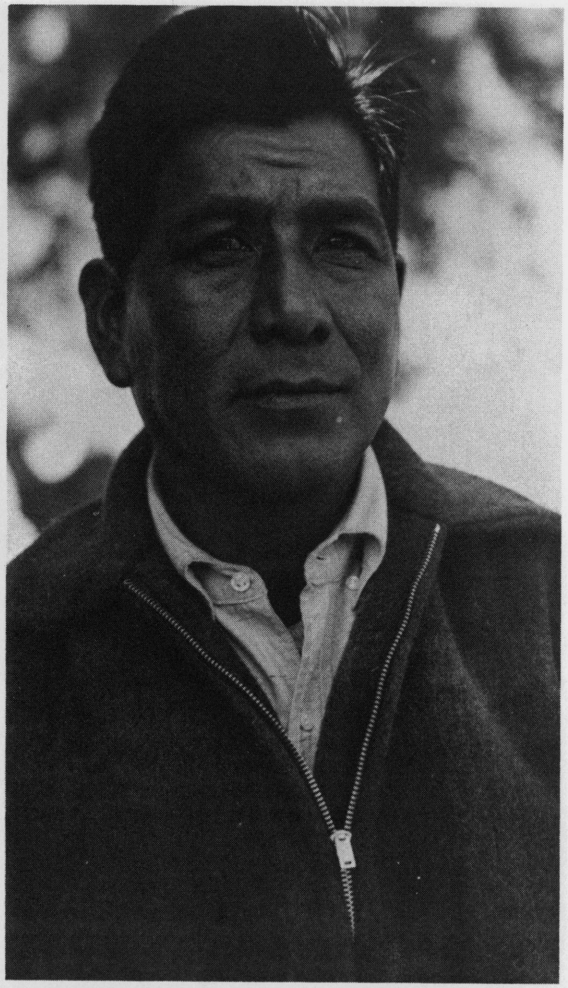


PLATE 6

7. Philmore Duncan (Yuki).

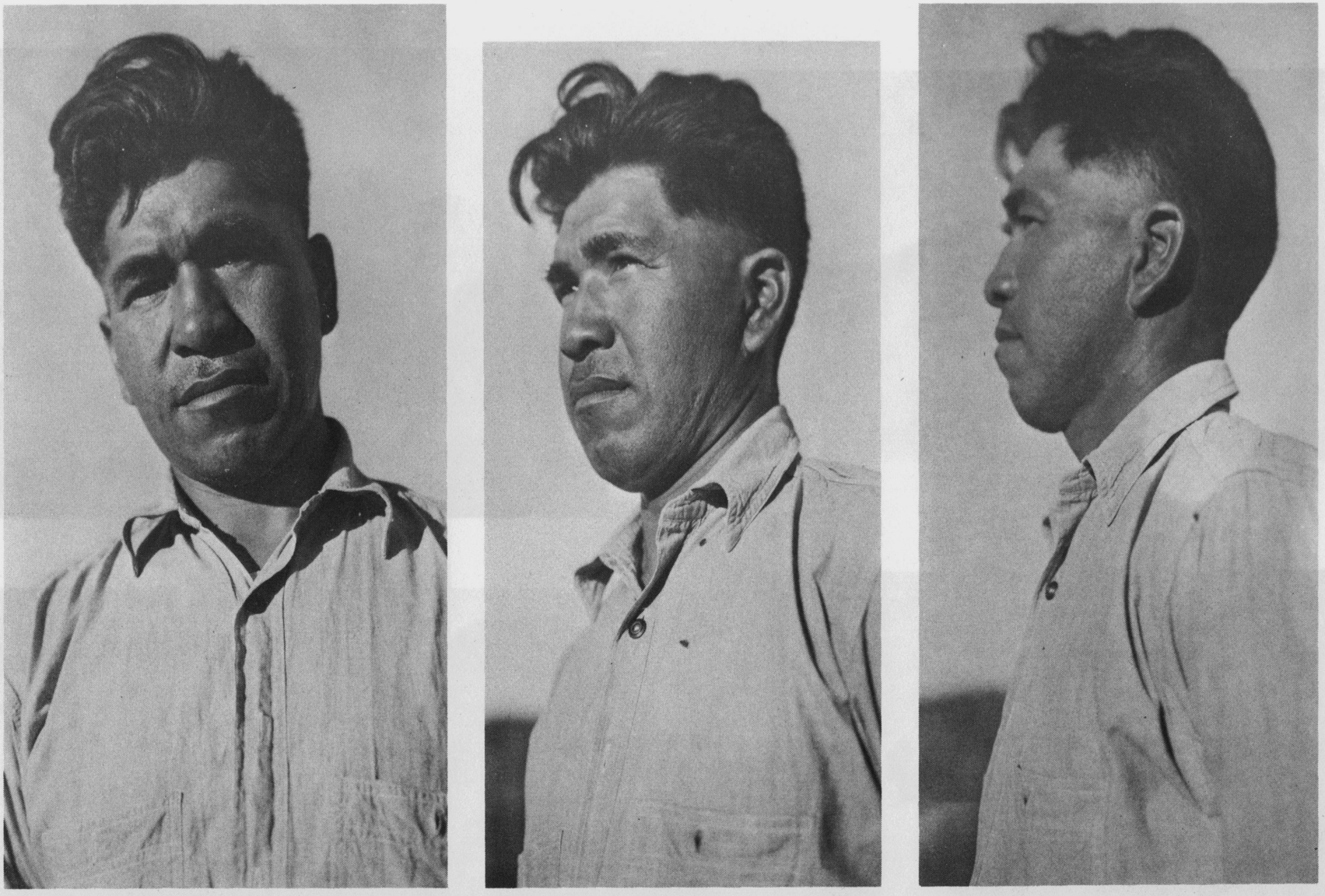
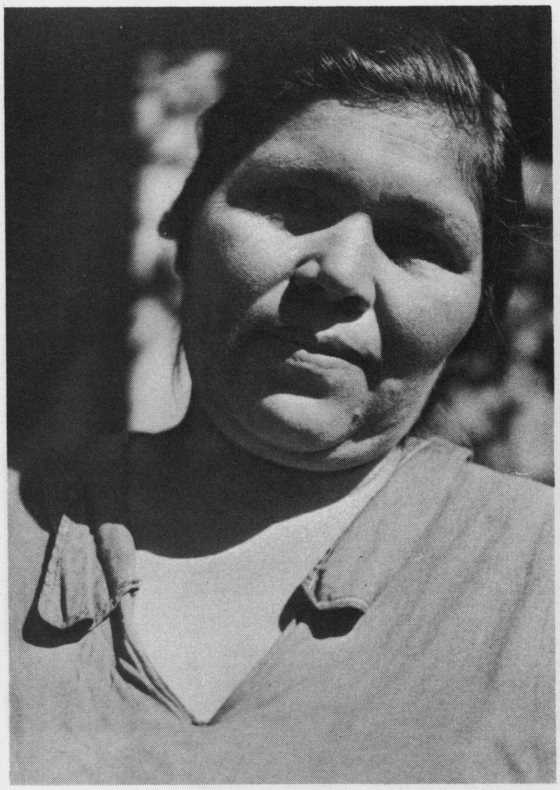


PLATE 7

8. Top. Mrs. John Heenan (Yuki-Pomo).
Bottom. Rachel Logan (Yuki).



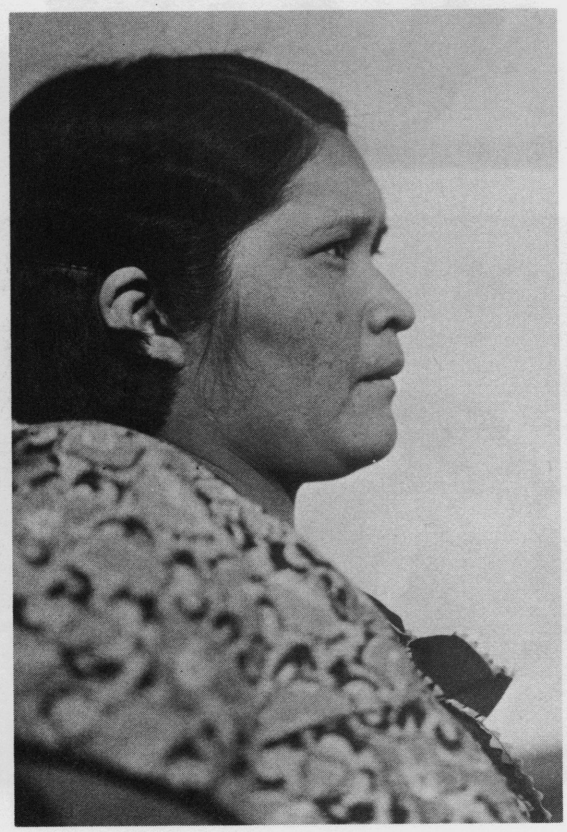
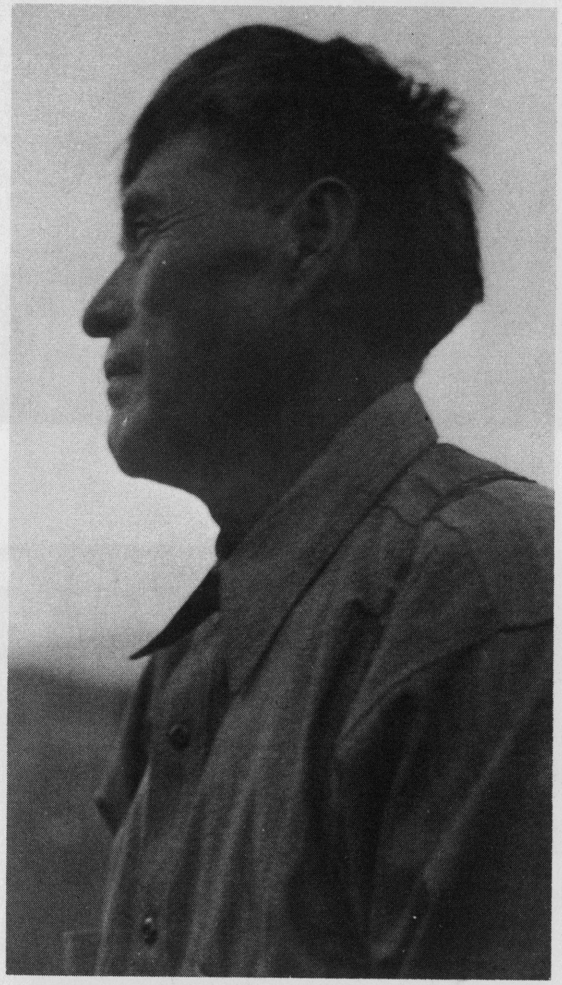


PLATE 8

9. Left to right. Frank Logan (Yuki-Wailaki); Celia Logan, wife (Yuki).



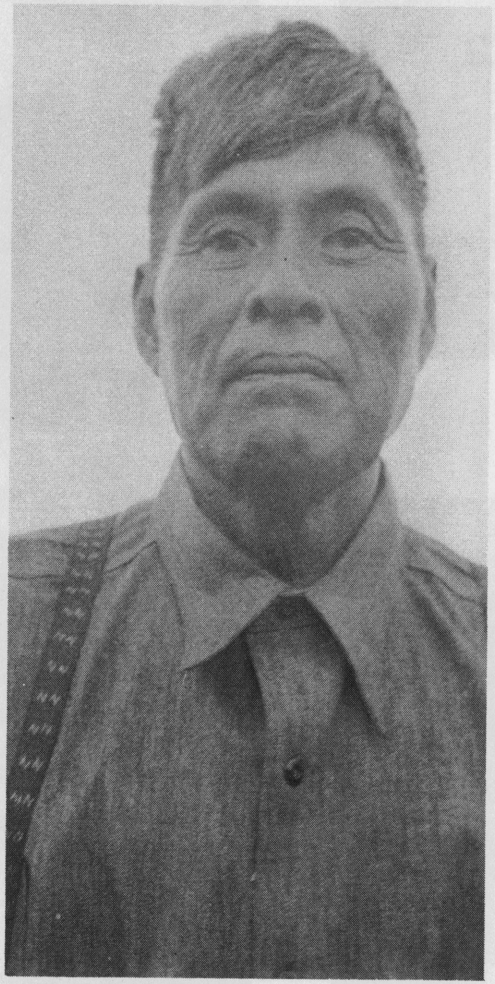
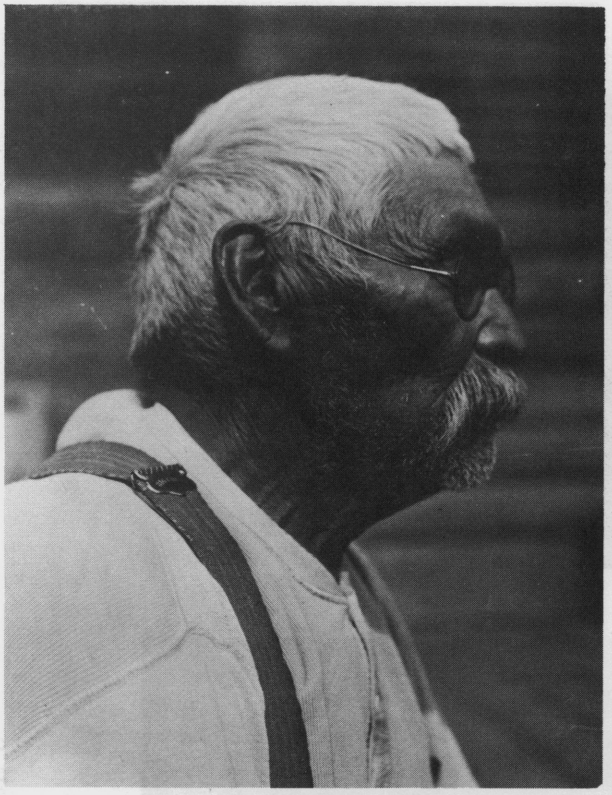
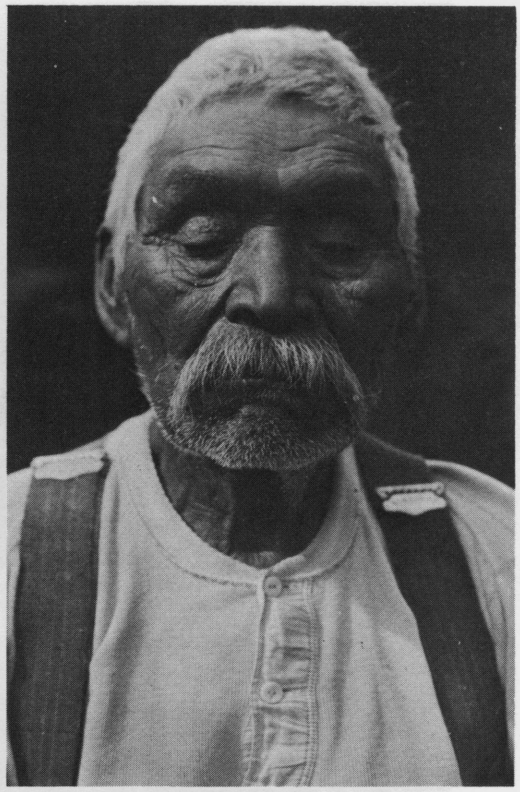
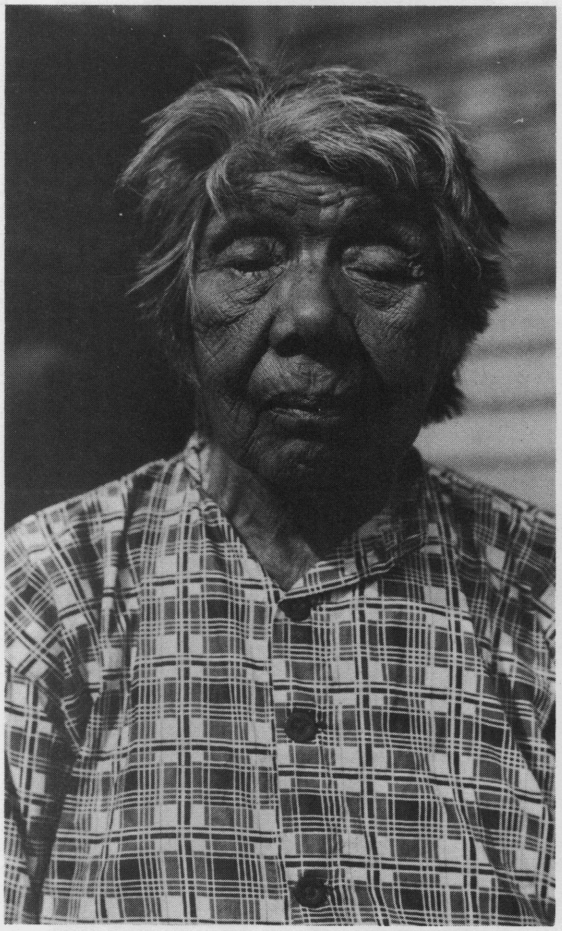


PLATE 9

10. Top. Dixie Duncan (Yuki).
Bottom. Sally Duncan, wife of Dixie, (Yuki-Wailaki).







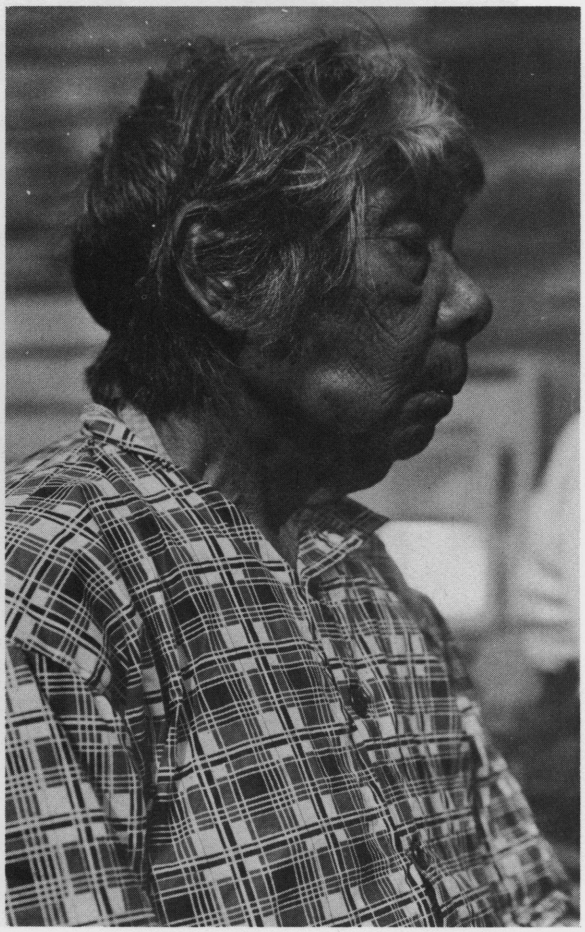
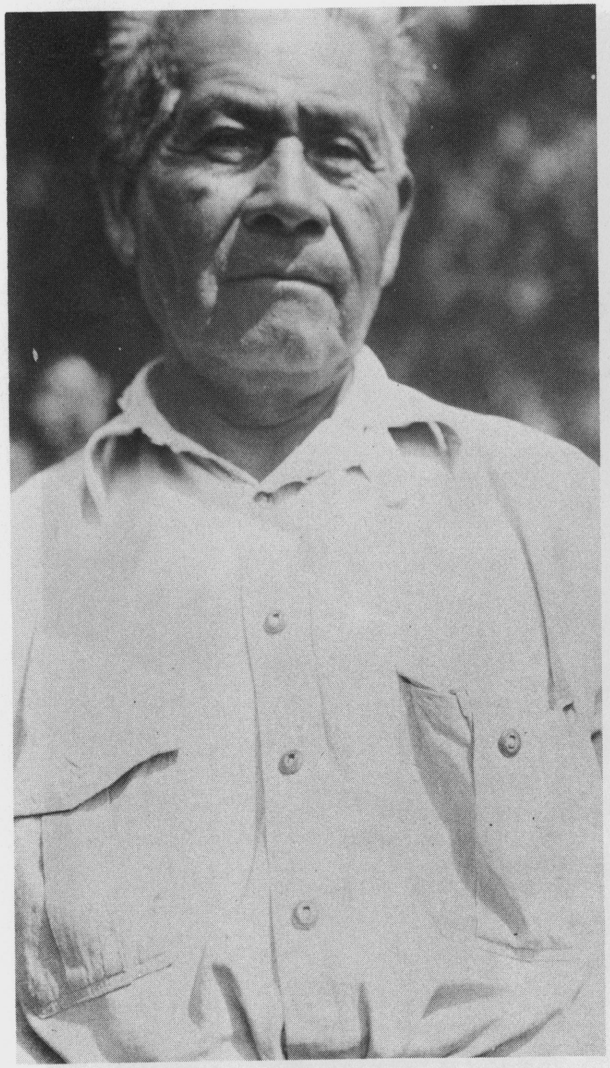


PLATE 10

11. Left to right. Ralph Moore (Yuki); Lucy Moore, wife of Ralph (Wailaki).



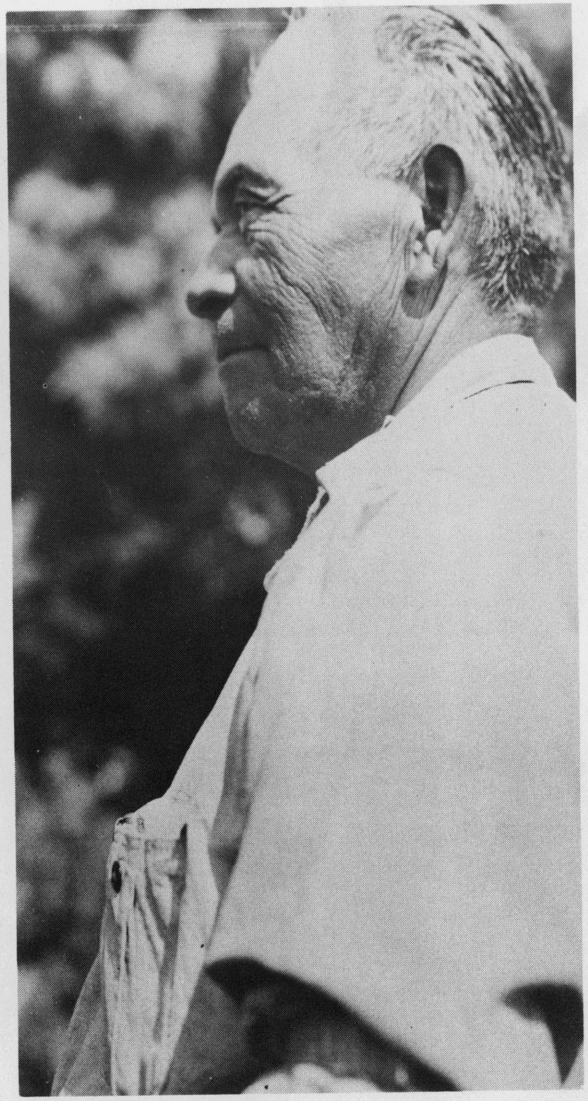


PLATE 11

12. Top. Lucy Young (Wailaki), Age 90.
Bottom (left to right). Mrs. Olsen, Polly Anderson, Austin McLaine.

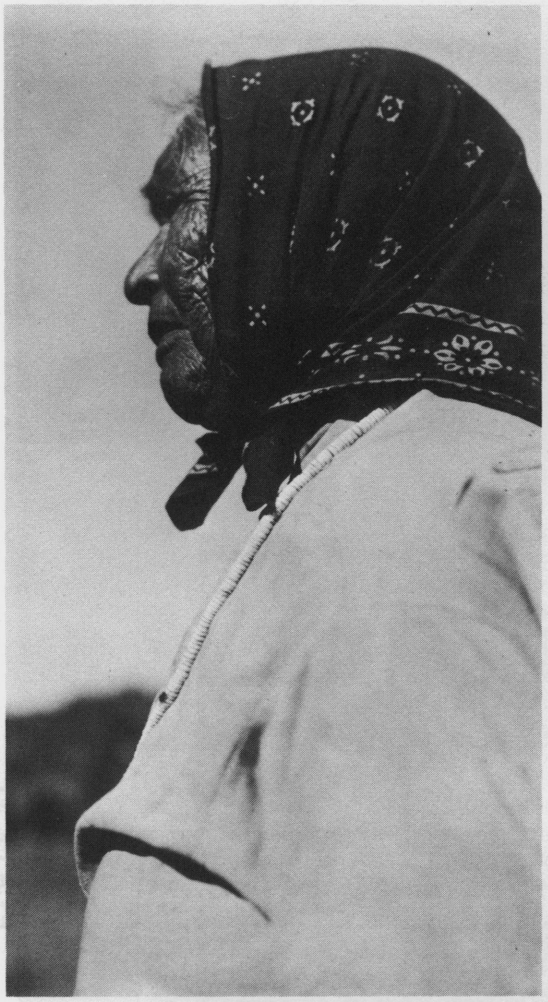
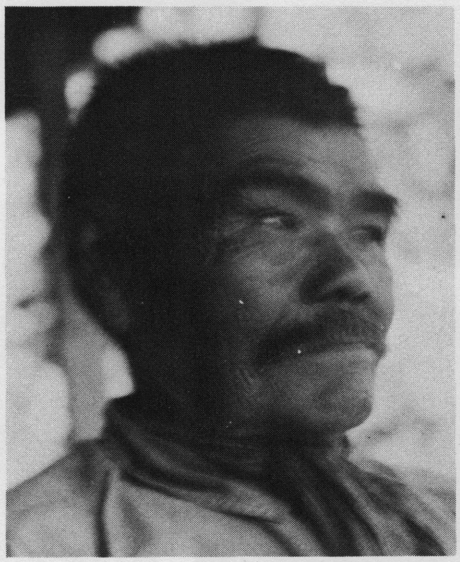


PLATE 12

13. Top. Mollie Major, wife of Fred (Clear Lake Pomo); Polly Anderson and Johnnie Wilsey.
Bottom. Little Toby (Yuki); Fred Major (Wailaki).



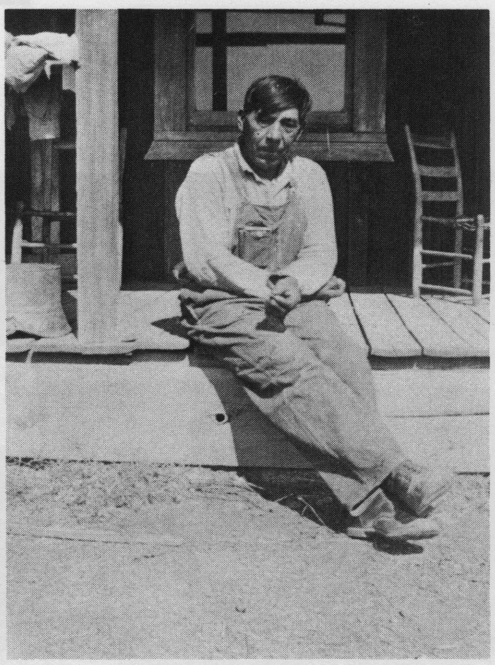


PLATE 13

14. Left. Nancy Dobey (Wailaki, N. Fork).
Upper right. Lucy Young.
Lower right. Lucy and Sam Young.

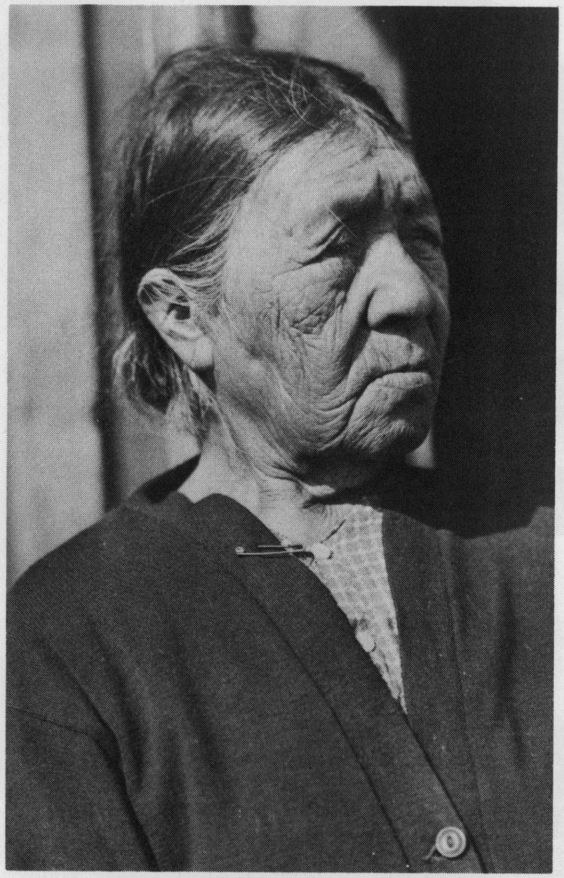


PLATE 14

15. Upper left. Austin McLaine.
Upper right (left to right). Polly Anderson, Genevieve Austin, Evelyn Brown, Maria (not Indian), Frank Day.

Lower left. Lucy Young.
Lower right. Ethel Johnson, nee Logan (Yuki).

PLATE 15